THE FIRST PART OF THE LIFE AND raigne of King *Henrie the IIII.*

Extending to the end of the firſt yeare of his raigne.

Written by I. H.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be ſolde at his ſhop in Popes head Alley, neere to the Exchange. 1599.

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Illustrissimo & honoratissimo *Roberto Comiti Essexiæ & Ewe*, Comiti Marescallo Angliæ, Vicecomiti Herefordiæ *& Bourchier: Baroni Ferrariis de Chartley*, Domino Bourchier & Louen: Regiæ Maiestati Hyppocomo: *Machinarum bellicarum præfecto: Academiæ Cantabrigiensis* Cancellario: Ordinis Georgiani Equiti aurato: *Serenissimæ Domino Reginæ a sanctioribus consilijs:* Domino meo plurimum obseruando.

A Ριστῳ καὶ γενναιοτάτῳ: *optimo & Nobilissimo* (*inquit* Euripides) *ex qua sententia tu primus ac solus fere occurrebas* (*illustrissime comes*) *cuius nomen si Henrici nostri fronte radiaret, ipse & lætior & tutior in vulgus prodiret. Magnus siquidem es, & presenti iudicio, & futuri temporis expectatione: in quo, veluti recuperasse nunc oculos, cæca prius fortuna videri potest; Dum cumulare honoribus eum gisti, qui omnibus virtutibus est insignitus. Hunc igitur si læta fronte excipere digneris, sub nominis tui vmbra* (*tanquam sub* Aiacis *clipio* Teucer *ille* Homericus) *tutissime latebit. Deus opt. max. celsitudinem tuam nobis, reique publicæ diu seruet in columem: quo nos vz. tam fide quam armis potenti tua dextra defensi, vltique, diutina cum securitate tum gloria perfruamur.*

Honori tuo deditissimus.

I. Hayvvarde.

Faultes eſcaped in the Printing

Page.	Line.	Fault.	Reade.
11	23	played	plyed
15	13	pleaſeth	pleaſe
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43	13	too	two
44	13	in reporting	to reporting
53	08	moued	enforced
55	04	this	his
55	05	chalenged	chalenging
57	27	elſe	or elſe
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70	13	lenety	leuity
71	35	*Buſh*	*Buſhie*
75	05	officers of ſo long	offers of ſo large
75	12	Caſtell Trim	Caſtell of Trim
75	32	of the one,	by the one,
77	32	at men	to men
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A. P. *to the Reader.*

Mong all ſortes of humane writers, there is none that haue done more profit, or deſerued greater prayſe, then they who haue committed to faithfull records of Hiſtories, eyther the gouernment of mighty ſtates, or the liues and actes of famous men: for by deſcribing the order and paſſages of theſe two, and what euents hath followed what counſailes they haue ſet foorth vnto vs, not onely precepts, but liuely patterns, both for priuate directions and for affayres of ſtate: whereby in ſhorte time young men may be inſtructed; and ould men more fullie furniſhed with experience then the longeſt age of man can affoorde. And therefore *Cicero* reporteth that *L. Lucullus*, when he went from Rome to make warre againſt *Mithridates*, was altogether vnskilfull in Militarie ſeruices: yet in the time of his Nauigation hee ſo exerciſed himſelfe what with conference, and what with reading of hiſtories, that when hee came into Aſia, by the iudgement and confeſſion of that great King, hee was preferred before all the commaunders that were before him. Heereupon when *Alexander Seuerus* did deliberate of anye weightie matter, hee would eſpeciallye take aduiſe of men

skilfull in hiſtories, and not without good cauſe: for if (as *Afranius* ſaith) experience hath begot Wiſedome, and Memory as a mother hath brought it foorth; who are to be better accompted then they whoſe memory is as it were a rich ſtorehouſe, of the experiences not of one age or Country, but of all times and of all nations. And therefore it is no great maruaile that *Zenobia*, who after the death of her husband *Odonatus* tooke vpon her the ſtate, not onely inſulted vpon the Romanes, but held the Arabians, the Saricenes, the Armenians, and other fierce and intractible people, in ſuch obedience, that although ſhee were both a woman and a Barbarian, yet they neuer ſtirred againſt her: for ſhee had perfectly red the Romaine hiſtorie in Greeke, and alſo had her ſelfe abridged the Alexandrian and all the Orientall hiſtories, whereby ſhe attained the higheſt pitch both of Wiſedome and authority: for examples are of greater force to ſtirre vnto vertue, then bare precepts, inſomuch as *Cicero* ſaid that nothing could be taught wel without example. Therfore the Lacædemonians (as *Plutarch* writeth) did vſe vpon feaſtiual dayes to preſent vnto their Sons certaine drunken ſlaues whom they called ὕλωτες: that by view of the vice they might learne to auoyde it, and *Hiſmenias* the Thebane, would ſhew to his Schollers muſitians of all ſortes good and bad, inſtructing them to followe the one and not the other. And this is that which the *Apologie* telleth of a certaine Countrie woman, who being hard laboured, and fearing leaſt ſhee ſhould bring foorth children like her ſelfe, got many faire and beautifull Pictures, which ſhee did dayly and ſteedfaſtly beholde: the meaning whereof is, that by ſetting before vs the actes and liues of excellent men, it is the readieſt way to faſhion our qualities according to the ſame.

Heereupon *Cicero* doeth rightly call hiſtory the witneſſe of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, and the meſſenger

meſſenger of antiquity, Heereby wee are armed againſt all the rage and raſhneſſe of Fortune: and heereby wee may ſeeme (in regarde of the knowledge of thinges) to haue trauelled in all Countries, to haue liued in all ages, and to haue been conuerſant in all affayres. Neyther is that the leaſt benefit of hiſtory, that it preſerueth eternally, both the glory of good men, and ſhame of euill. Some Philoſophers doe deny, that glory is to be deſired: for vertue (ſay they) is a reward vnto it ſelfe, & muſt not be reſpected for the vaine and titulare blaſtes of glory: yet in wryting theſe things, they affect that eſpecially, which they eſpecially depraue. And indeed there is no man hath ſo horny hartſtringes, (as *Perſius* ſpeaketh) who is not tickled with ſome pleaſure of praiſe: againe there is no man of ſo flinty a forehead, who is not touched with ſome feare of infamy and ſhame. Doe we thinke that the valiant ſouldier thinketh no toyle too tough, but boldly aduenture the hazard of all happes, becauſe he is weary of his life? death commeth by nature to all men alike, onely with difference of memory with poſterity.

And I would thinke that Citties at the firſt were builded, lawes made, and many things inuented for the vſe of men, chiefly for deſire of glory: which humour except the old gouernours of common wealths, had thought neceſſary, they would neuer haue foſtered it as they did, with Garlandes, ſtatutes, trophies and triumphes, in which notwithſtanding it is but temporary and ſhort; but in hiſtories of worth it is onely perpetual. This *Cicero* perceiuing he dealt with *Luceius* to cõmit his actions to the monuments of his writings: and *Plinie* the yonger did wiſh that he might be mentioned in the hiſtories of *Cornelius Tacitus*, becauſe he did foreſee that they ſhould neuer decay.

But theſe are ſuch as are not led away with a luſt, eyther to flatter or to deface, whereby the creadite of hiſtorie is quite ouerthrowne. Yet the endeuour to curry fauour

is more easily disliked, as bearing with it an open note of seruility, and therefore *Alexander* when he heard *Aristobulus* read many things that he had written of him farre aboue truth, as he was sayling the floud *Hidaspis*, he threw the booke into the Riuer, and sayd that hee was almost mooued to send *Aristobulus* after for his seruile dealing; but enuious carping carieth a counterfeite shew of liberty, and thereby findeth the better acceptance.

And since I am entred into this point, it may seeme not impertinent to write of the stile of a history, what beginning, what continuance, and what meanes is to bee vsed in all matter, what thinges are to bee suppressed, what lightly touched, and what to be treated at large: how credit may be won, and suspition auoyded: what is to bee obserued in the order of times, and description of places and other such circumstances of weight; what liberty a writer may vse in framing speeches, and in declaring the causes, counsailes and euentes of thinges done: how farre hee must bend himselfe to profit: and when and how hee may play vpon pleasure, but this were too large a fielde to enter into: therefore least I should run into the fault of the *Mindians*, who made their gates wider then their towne, I will heere close vp; onely wishing that all our English histories were drawne out of the drosse of rude and barbarous English: that by pleasure in reading them, the profit in knowing them, myght more easily bee attayned.

THE FIRST PARTE OF THE LIFE AND RAIGNE OF KING Henry the fourth,

Extending to the end of the first yeere of his raigne.

THe noble and victorious Prince, king *Edward* the third, had his fortunate gift of a long & prosperous raigne ouer this realme of England, much strengthned and adorned, by natures supply of seuen goodlye sonnes. *Edward* his eldest sonne, prince of Wales, commonly called the Blacke Prince: *William* of Hatfield: *Lyonel*, Duke of Clarence: *Iohn* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: *Edmund* of Langley, Duke of Yorke: *Thomas* of Woodstocke, Duke of Glouceſter: and *William* of Windsore. These sonnes, during the life of their renowmed Father, were such ornaments and such stayes to his estate, as it seemed no greater could be annexed thereunto. For neither armies, nor strong holdes are so great defences to a prince, as the multitude of children:

Fortes may decay, and forces decreaſe and both decline and fall away, eyther by varietie of fortune, or inconſtancie of mens deſires: but a mans owne bloud cleaueth cloſe vnto him; not ſo much in the bliſſes of proſperite, which are equally imparted to others, as in the croſſes of calamity, which touch none ſo neere, as thoſe that are neereſt by nature. But in ſucceeding times they became in their ofspring, the ſeminarie of diuiſion and diſcord, to the vtter ruine of their families, and great waſt and weakning of the whole Realme: for they that haue equall dignitie of birth and bloud, can hardly ſtoope to termes of ſoueraignty, but vpon euery offer of occaſion wil aſpire to indure, rather no equall then any ſuperiour, and for the moſt part, the hatred of thoſe that are neereſt in kind, is moſt diſpitefull & deadiy if it once breake forth. The feare of this humor cauſed *Romulus*, to embrewe the foundations of the Citie and Empire of Rome, with the bloud of his brother *Remus*. According to which example, the Tyrents of Turkie, thoſe butchers of Sathan, doe commonly at this day beginne their raigne, with the death and ſlaughter of all their brethren.

Prince *Edward* the thunderbolt of warre in his time, dyed during the life of his father. And although, he was cut off in the middle courſe, and principall ſtrength of his age, yet in reſpect of honour and fame he liued with the longeſt, hauing in all patts fulfilled the meaſure of true Nobilite. He left behind him a young ſonne called *Richard*, who after the death of King *Edward*, was Crowned king in his ſteade, and afterward died child-leſſe.

William of Hatfield king *Edwards* ſecond ſonne, dyed alſo without iſſue, leauing no other memorie of his name, but the mention onely.

Lionell Duke of Clarence, the third ſonne of King *Edward*, was a man of comely perſonage, of ſpeech and pace ſtately, in other qualities of a middle temperature, neither to bee admired nor contemned, as rather voide of ill partes, then

then furuiſhed with good. He had iſſue *Philip* his only daughter, who was ioyned in marriage to *Edmunde Mortimer*, Earle of March: Who in the Parliament holden in the eight yeare of the Reigne of King *Richard*, was in the right of his wife, declared heire apparant to the Crowne, in caſe the King ſhould die without children; but not many yeares after he dyed, leauing iſſue by the ſaid *Philip*, *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March. This *Roger* was ſlaine in the rude and tumultuous warres of Ireland, and had iſſue *Edmund*, *Anne*, and *Elienor*. *Edmund* and *Elienor* dyed without iſſue. *Anne* was married to *Richard* Earle of Cambridge, ſonne to *Edmund* of *Langley* Duke of Yorke, the fift ſonne of King *Edward*. Of theſe two, came *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of Yorke: who by the right deuolued to him from his mother, made open claime to the Crowne of England, (which was then poſſeſſed by the family of Lancaſter) firſt by law, in the Parliament holden the thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of King *Henrie* the ſixt: where either by right or by fauour, his cauſe had ſuch furtherance, that after King *Henrie* ſhould die, the Crowne was entayled to him, and to the heires of his bloud for euer. But the Duke impatient to linger in hope, choſe rather to endure any daunger then ſuch delay: Whereupon hee entred into armes ſoone after, againſt King *Henrie* in the field. But being carried further by courage, then by force hee coulde beare through, he was ſlaine at the battaile of Wakefield, and left his title to *Edward* his eldeſt ſonne: who with inuincible perſiſtance did proſecute the enterprife, and after great varietie of fortune at the laſt atchieued it.

Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* the third, was a man of high and hardie ſpirit, but his fortune was many times not anſwerable, either to his force or to his forecaſt. He had two ſonnes, *Henry* Earle of Derby (of whome I purpoſe chiefly to treate) and *Iohn* Earle of Somerſet. This *Iohn* was father to *Iohn* Duke of Somerſet,

who had iſſue *Margaret*, Counteſſe of Richmond, mother to the noble Prince, *Henrie* the ſeuenth.

Henrie Plantagenet Earle of Derby, was likewiſe by his mother *Blanch*, extracted from the bloud of Kings, being diſcended from *Edmund*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Henrie* the third: by which line: the Duchie of Lancaſter did accreue vnto his houſe. He was a man of meane ſtature, well proportioned and formally compact: of good ſtrength and agilitie of body, skilful in armes, and of a ready diſpatch: ioyntly ſhewing himſelfe both earneſt & aduiſed in all his actions. He was quicke and preſent in conceite, forward in attempt, courageous in execution, and moſt times fortunate in euent. There was no great place of imployment and charge, which hee would not rather affect for glorie, then refuſe either for peril, or for paines; and in ſeruice hee often prooued himſelfe not onely a skilfull commaunder by giuing directions: but alſo a good Souldier in vſing his weapon, aduenturing further in perſon ſometimes, then policie would permit: his expences were liberall and honourable, yet not exceeding the meaſure of his receiptes, he was verie courteous and familiar reſpectiuely towards all men, whereby hee procured great reputation and regarde, eſpecially with thoſe of the meaner ſort: for high humilities take ſuch deepe roote in the mindes of the multitude, that they are more ſtrongly drawne by vnprofitable curteſies then by churliſh benefits. In all the changes of his eſtate, he was almoſt one and the ſame man in aduerſitie neuer daunted, in proſperitie neuer ſecure: reteining ſtill his maieſtie in the one, and his mildnes in the other: neither did the continuance of his Raigne bring him to a proude port and ſtately eſteeming of himſelfe, but in his latter yeares he remained ſo gentle & faire in cariage, that therby chiefely hee did weare out the hatred that was borne him, for the death of King *Richard*. He could not lightly be drawne into any cauſe, & was ſtiffe & conſtant in a good: Yet more eaſie

to

to be either corrupted or abuſed by flattering ſpeeches, then to be terrified by threats. To ſome men he ſeemed too greedie of glorie, making ſmall difference of the meanes whereby he attained it: and indeede this honour in noble minds is moſt hardly ouer-ruled, and often times it draweth euen the wiſeſt awrie. But before I proceed any further in deſcribing either the qualities, or acts of this Earle, I muſt write ſomething of the Raigne of King *Richard* the ſecond, his coſin germaine: ſo far forth as the follies of the one, were either cauſes or furtherances of the fortunes of the other.

Richard ſonne to *Edward* Prince of Wales, a little before deceaſed, was after the death of King *Edward* the thirde, Crowned King ouer this Realme of England, in the eleuenth yeare of his age: at which yeares the minde of man is like to the potters earth, apt to bee wrought into any faſhion, and which way ſo euer it hardneth by cuſtome, it will ſooner breake then bend from the ſame. Now the gouernaunce of the King at the firſt was cõmitted to certain Biſhops, Earles, Barons, and Iuſtices. But either vppon niceneſs to diſcontent the King, or negligence to diſcharge their dutie, euery one was more ready with pleaſant conceites to delight him, then with poſitable counſaile to doe him good: for ſmooth and pleaſing ſpeaches neede ſmall endeauour, and alwayes findeth fauour: wheras to aduiſe that which is meete, is a point of ſome paines, and many times a thankleſſe office. Herevpon two daungerous euils did enſue; flatterie brake in, and priuate reſpects did paſſe vnder publike pretences.

In the thirde yeare of his Raigne, it was thought meete that this charge ſhould be committed to one man, to auoid thereby the vnneceſſarie waſt of the treaſure of the Realme, by allowing yearely ſtipend vnto many. So by the whole conſent of the nobilitie and commons aſſembled together in Parliament, this office was deputed to Lord *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of Warwicke, and a competent penſion was aſſigned him, out of the Kings Eſchequer for his paines.

But the King being now plunged in pleaſure, did immoderately bend himſelfe to the fauouring and aduancing of certaine perſons, which were both reprooueable in life, and generally abhorred in all the Realme, and this was the cauſe of two great inconuenienees: for many young noble-men and braue Courtiers, hauing a nimble eye to the ſecret fauours and diſlikes of the King, gaue ouer themſelues, to a diſſolute and diſhoneſt life, which findeth ſome followers when it findeth no furtherancers, much more when it doth flouriſh and thriue: the King alſo by fauouring theſe, was himſelfe little fauoured and loued of many: for it is oftentimes as daungerous to a Prince, to haue euil and odious adherents, as to be euill and odious himſelfe. The names of theſe men were *Alexander Neuill*, Archbiſhop of Yorke. *Robert Veere*, Earle of Oxford: *Michael Delapoole*, afterwards Earle of Suffolke: *Robert Triſiliane*, Lord chiefe Iuſtice, *Nicholas Brambre* Alderman of London; and certaine others, of no eminencie either by birth or deſert, but obſequious and pliable to the Kings youthfull humour. Theſe were highly in credit with the King: theſe were alwayes next vnto him, both in campanie and counſell: by theſe he ordered his priuate actions: by theſe he managed his affaires of ſtate: he ſpared neither the dignitie nor death of any man, whoſe authoritie and life withſtoode their preferment. In ſo much as in the fifth yeare of his Raigne, he remooued Sir *Richard Scroope*, from being Lord Chauncellor of England (to which office he was by auctoritie of Parliament appointed) becauſe hee refuſed to ſet the great Seale, to the graunt of certaine lands, which had wantonly paſſed from the King, alleaging for his denial; the great debts of the King, and ſmall demerites of the parties, vpon whome the King might caſt away and conſume, but ſpend in good order he could not: aduertiſing him alſo to haue reſpect, that ryote did not deceiue him vnder the tearme and ſhewe of liberalitie: and that gifts well ordered procure not ſo much loue, as placed without diſcretion, they

ſtirre

ſtirre enuy. This Chancellor was a man of notable integrity and diligence in his office, not ſcornfully turning away from the ragged coat of a poore ſuppliant, or pale face of a ſickely & feeble limmed ſuter, holding vp their ſimple ſoiled billes of complaint, nor yet ſmothering his conſcience with partiall maintaining of ſuch as were mighty: but being alike to all, he was ſoone diſliked of thoſe that were bad.

In the eight yeere of this Kings reigne, the diſtruction of the duke of Lancaſter was entended likewiſe vpon the like diſlike: the plot was layed by Iuſtice *Triſtliam*, offences were deuiſed, appellors appointed, and peeres named; he ſhould haue bene put vnder arreſt ſuddenly, and foorthwith arreigned, condemned, and executed. But the duke vpon priuy intelligences of theſe contriuances, fled to his caſtle at Pomfret, and there made preparation for his defence againſt the king. So this matter began to grow to a head of diuiſion, which the common people at that time very buſily, deſired and ſought: but the kings mother trauelling inceſſantly betweene the king and the duke (notwithſtanding ſhee was both corpulent & in yeeres) laboured them both to a reconcilement: the king, with regard of the dangerous and diſcontented times: the duke with reſpect of his duty and faith: and ſo partly by her entreaty and aduiſe, partly by their inclination bending to the ſafeſt courſe, all apparancie of diſpleaſure on the one part, and diſtruſt on the other, was for that time layed aſide.

The ſame yere *Michael Delapoole* was made Chancellour of England, and created earle of Suffolke: and *Robert Veere* earle of Oxford was created Marqueſſe of Dubline, being the firſt man within the realme that was enobled with that title. But as they grew in honour, ſo did they in hate: for many noble men did infinitely ſtomacke their vndeſerued aduancements, and with theſe the fauour of the people generally went: but the kings intemperate affection was per-

emptory, and violent, not regarding enuy vntill he could not reſiſt it.

The yeere next following, *Robert Veere* the new Marques was created Duke of Ireland. This yere the knights and burgeſſes of Parliament put vp many complaints againſt the Earle of Suffolke, vpon which they deſired his anſweres and triall: namely, how he had abuſed the king in taking of him to farme all the profits & reuenues of the crowne: how wantonly he waſted the treaſure of the land in riotous liberality, and vnneceſſary charges: how deepe he had diued into the kings debt: how careleſſe and corrupt hee was in his office: how greatly he had both deceiued and diſcredited the king in certaine dealings and accounts particularly expreſſed: with diuers other imputations touching diſhonor and diſhoneſty, both in priuate actions and in office. This Earle was a merchants ſonne in London, and growing mighty on the ſudden, he could not gouerne himſelfe in the change: but proſperity layed open the ſecret faults of his minde, which were ſuppreſſed and cloaked before: and ſeruing a weake ruler in great place, with an ill minde, he made open ſale of his princes honour. Yet the king was willing, either ſecretly to diſſemble, or openly to remit theſe offences: and ſo paſſed them ouer with a ſhort audience (as his manner was in matters of greateſt weight) and without examination, ſhewing himſelfe neither grieued at the faults, nor well pleaſed with the complaint. Afterwards a Subſidie was required: but anſwere was made that this needed not, ſince the kings wants might be furniſhed with the debts which were owing him from his Chancellour: neither was it to any purpoſe, ſo long as the money ſhould be ordered by ſuch perſons as before it had beene, and that that time was like. Then were the matters againſt the L. Chancellour againe ſet on foote, and the king perſwaded that it was neither honourable nor ſafe to beare him out, that to priuat men it was ſufficient if them-

ſelues

ſelues abſtaine from wrong, but a Prince muſt prouide that none do wrong vnder him: for by mainteining, or wincking at the vices of his officers, he maketh them his own, and ſhal ſurely be charged therewith when firſt occaſion doth ſerue againſt him. At the laſt, vpon inſtant importunity of both houſes, the king did conſent, that a commiſſion ſhould goe forth to certaine noble men, giuing them authority to heare and determine all matters which were obiected againſt the L. Chancellour: and then was a Subſidie graunted, with exception, that the money ſhould be expended by the Lords, to the benefit and behalfe of the realme. The kind did further demaund, that the heires of *Charles Bloys*, who made claim to the duchy of Britaine, ſhould be ſold to the French men for thirty thouſand marks, & the money granted to the duke of Ireland, for recouery of thoſe poſſeſſions which the king had giuen him in Ireland: this was likewiſe aſſented vnto, vpon condition, that before Eaſter then next enſuing, the duke ſhould depart into Ireland, and there remaine: at ſo high a price did they value the riddance of him out of the realme.

The charge of the Subſidie money was committed to *Richard* earle of Arundell, Commiſſioners for the earle of Suffolke, were appointed, *Thomas* duke of Gloceſter the kings vncle, and the ſayd earle of Arundell: but during the time of their proceeding, the king kept all off, in places farre diſtant: either to manifeſt thereby the diſſent of his minde, or to auoid the griefe which his neereneſſe would increaſe. And now was the Chancellour left vnto himſelfe, to anſwere to thoſe demeanures, wherein he made the kings blind fauour his priuiledge and protection, ſuppoſing neuer to ſee the ſame either altered or ouer-ruled. In the end, being conuict of many crimes and abuſes, he was depoſed from his office, his goods were confiſcated to the kings Exchequer, & himſelfe was adiudged woorthy of death: Yet was execution ſubmitted to the kings pleaſure, and vnder ſuerties he was

permitted to goe at large. At the ſame time *Iohn Foorde* Biſhop of Dureſme, another of the Kings dainties, was remoued alſo from being Lord Treaſorer of England, he was a man of little depth, either in learning or wiſedome, but one that had the Arte of ſeeming, in making the beſt ſhewe of whatſoeuer he ſpake or did: and riſing from meane eſtate to ſo high a pitch of honour, hee exerciſed the more exceſſiuely his ryote, auarice and ambition, not able to moderate the luſtes and deſires which former want had kindled.

When this buſineſſe was blowne ouer, the King returned againe to London, and did preſently receiue the Earle of Suffolke, with the Duke of Ireland, and the Archbiſhop of Yorke, to greater grace and familiaritie then at any time before. Theſe *Triumuirs* did not ceaſe to ſtirre vp the Kings ſtomacke againſt thoſe Noble men, whoſe ſpeciall excellencie had made matter of fame and regarde: partly for the diſgraces which they had receiued, partly vpon malicious emulation, to ſee the other ſo fauoured, and themſelues ſo odious, and that their priuate choller and ambition might beare ſome ſhewe of publike reſpect, they ſuggeſted vnto the King, that he was but halfe, yea not halfe a King in his owne Realme, but rather the ſhadow and picture of a King: for if we reſpect (ſayd they) matters of ſtate, you beare the ſword, but they ſway it, you haue the ſhewe, but they the authority of a Prince, vſing your name as a colour and countenance to their proceeding, and your perſon as a cypher, to make them great, and be your ſelfe nothing. Looke to the dutie of your ſubiectes, and it is at their deuotion: ſo that you can neither commaunde nor demaunde any thing, but with ſuch exceptions and limitations as they pleaſe to impoſe, come now to your priuate actions: your liberalitie (the greateſt vertue in a prince) is reſtrained, your expences meaſured, and your affections confined, to frowne and fauour as they doe preſcribe. What Ward is ſo much vnder gouernment of his Gardian? Wherein will they next, or can they more

more abridge you? Except they ſhould take from you the place, as they haue done the power of a Prince: and in this we thinke, they may iuſtly be feared, hauing ſo great might ioyned with ſo great aſpiring mindes. For power is neuer ſafe when it doth exceede: & ambition is like the Crocodile, which groweth ſo long as he liueth; or like the Iuie, which faſtning on the foote of the talleſt Tower, by ſmall, yet continuall riſing, at length will climbe aboue the toppe, it is already growne from a ſparke to a flame, from a twigge to a tree, and high time it is that the encreaſe were ſtayed: oftentimes ſuch ouer-ruling of Princes haue proceeded to their ouerthrowing, and ſuch cutting them ſhort hath turned to cutting them off, their mindes are ſuſpicious, their power daungerous, and therefore the opportunitie muſt bee preuented.

The Kings owne weakneſſe made him apprehenſiue, and framed his mind to a vaine, and needleſſe feare: but chiefely he was moued at the remouing of his Chauncellour and Treaſorer out of their offices, and of the Duke of Ireland out of the Realme, ſuppoſing it a reſtraint to his princely power, that he might not abſolutly and in things giue or forgiue as his pleaſure ſerued. When theſe priuie incenſers perceiued the Kings humour once ſharpned, they ſo plyed him with plauſible perſwaſions, that (although he was naturally of no cruell diſpoſition, as wanting courage) yet they drew him to many violent and indirect courſes, partly vpon negligence to ſearch out the truth, partly vpon delight to bee flattered and ſmothly vſed, neither did they long deferre their deuiſes: and firſt it was appointed, that the Duke of Glouceſter and certaine others of that part, ſhould be inuited to a ſupper within London, & there ſuddainely ſurpriſed and made away. Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, who the yere before had beene Mayor of London, and in whome abundance of wealth ſupplyed the want of honeſt qualities, was a buſie agent in this butcherly buſineſſe: but *Richard Extone* the Mayor of the

Citie that yeare, diſcouered the practiſe by whome the Duke was warned both to auoide the preſent perill, and afterwards to be warie of the like.

The yeare next following, *Richard* Earle of Arundel, and *Thomas Mowbraye* Earle of Notingham, had the conduct of a Nauie committed to their charge: in this viage they took aboue a hundred ſaile of the enemies ſhips, fraughted with Wines, and wel appointed for fight: they alſo relieued and fortified Breſt, and tooke two fortes which the French-men had raiſed againſt it. The Earles ſo behaued themſelues in this ſeruice, that they grew to a verie great eſtimation, both for curteſie among their Souldiers, and for courage againſt their enemies; & their actions were the more famous, by reaſon of the infortunate inſufficiencie of other Cõmanders, by whoſe either raſhneſſe or cowardiſe many good Souldiers were dayly defeated, and euery yeare made notorious by one loſſe or other. Yet notwithſtanding all their good labour and lucke, they were at their returne, entertained by the King, with great ſtrangenes, both of countenance and ſpeech. Who was ſo vnable to diſſemble his diſpight, that he could hardly deferre it, vntill the heate of the honour and loue which they had wonne, were ſomewhat abated. So much are men more inclinable to reuenge diſpleaſure, then reward deſert: for it is troubleſome to bee gratefull, and many times chargeable: but reuenge is pleaſant, and preferred before gaine.

About the ſame time, *Robert* Duke of Ireland forſooke the company of his lawful wife, whoſe mother Lady *Iſabel*, was daughter to King *Edward* the third, and inſteede of her he tooke vnto him a baſe Bohemian, a Tauerners daughter. The King little regarded this indignitie done vnto his coſin, and in ſo great confuſion of the ſtate, let it paſſe vnreproouned, as ouerſhadowed with greater vices: but the Duke of Glouceſter her vncle, tooke it in high diſdaine, as iniurious to the royell bloud, and did attend vpon occaſion to worke

reuenge

reuenge; this was not ſecret from the Duke of Irelande, who likewiſe bent al his deuiſes to bring the Duke of Glouceſter to his ouerthrow. The Duke of Glouceſter did proſecute his enmitie, openly and manlike: the Duke of Ireland cloſely, and therefore the more daungerouſly. The Duke of Glouceſter was greater in bloud, the Duke of Ireland in fauour: he being vncle to the King, this bearing himſelfe as the Kings fellow. The Duke of Glouceſter pretended for the ſtate, the Duke of Ireland for the King: and much priuate mallice did paſſe vnder theſe publike ſhewes: but in oppoſition of ſuch equall powers, there is many times ſmall difference in harme.

And now was Eaſter paſt, the tearme aſſigned to Duke *Robert Veere* for his departure into Ireland: and leaſt his ſtay might breede ſome ſtirre within the Realme, hee ſtill buſied himſelfe in preparation for his iournie, and at laſt (although it were long) made a ſolemne ſhew of ſetting forth. The King went in great ſtate to accompany him to his ſhipping; and the Earle of Suffolke, with Iuſtice *Triſiliane*, and the reſidue of that faction, either for fauour followed, or for feare durſt not ſtay behinde. So they paſſed together into Wales, and (whether vpon leuitie the Kings mind changed, or whether it was ſo contriued at the firſt to drawe themſelues more ſeperate from the Lords) there the Dukes iornie was at an ende. Then they entred into counſell, which way the Lords might beſt be ſuppreſſed: many deuiſes were deepely debated, all pleaſed without reſpect either of danger or diſgrace: but few ſtoode with likelyhoode of euent to their deſires, and therefore none was finally concluded. After long time thus friuolouſly ſpent, they left Wales, and came to the Caſtle of Notingham, where the King cauſed the high Shirifes of all the Shires in the Realme to be called before him, and demaunded of them, what ſtrength they could make on his part againſt the Lordes, if neede ſhoulde require: their anſwere was, that the common people did ſo

fauour the Lords, and were ſo well reſolued of their loue & loyaltie towards the King, that it was not in their power to rayſe any great power againſt them. Then they were commaunded, that no Knights nor burgeſſes ſhould afterwards bee choſen to any Parliament, but thoſe whome it pleaſed the King to appoint: whereto they ſaid, that it was a harde matter in thoſe times of Iealouſie and ſuſpicion, to bereaue the people of their auncient libertie, in chooſing Knightes and Burgeſſes for the Parliament, ſome few other matters being either vnreaſonably required, or obrained to ſmall end, the Sherifs were licenſed to depart. Then were aſſembled *Robert Triſilian*, chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench, *Robert Belknape*, chiefe Iuſtice of the Common Pleas, *Iohn Holte*, *Roger Stilthrope*, *William Burgh*, Knights and Iuſtices alſo of the Common Pleas, men learned in one rule chiefely, without difference of truth or falſhoode, to pleaſe thoſe in higheſt places, intituling that wiſedome, which indeed was but baſeneſſe and feeblenes of minde: theſe were charged by the King vpon their faith and legeance, to make true and full anſweres to thoſe queſtions following.

1 *Firſt, whether the Statute ordinance and commiſſion, made and ſet forth the laſt Parliament (whereby was ment the commiſſion againſt* Michael Delapoole *Duke of Suffolke) did derogate from the royall prerogatiue of the King.*

2 *Item, they who procured the ſaid Statute &c. to be made and ſet forth, how are they to be puniſhed?*

3 *Item, how are they to be puniſhed, who prouoked the King to conſent to the premiſes?*

4 *Item, what puniſhment haue they deſerued who compelled the King to conſent to the ſuid ſtatute &c.*

5 *Item, how are they to be puniſhed, who reſiſted or letted the King in exerciſing his royall power, by remitting any penalties or debts whatſoeuer?*

6 *Item, when a Parliament is aſſembled, and the affaires of the*

the Realme, and the cauſe of aſſembling the Parliament, by the Kings commandement declared, and common Articles limited by the King, vpon which, the Lords & commons in the ſaid Parliament ſhould proceed: if the Lordes and commons will proceede vpon other Articles, and not vpon the Articles limitted by the King, vntill the King hath firſt giuen anſwere to the Articles propounded by them, notwithſtanding that the contrary were enioyned by the King; whether in this caſe the King ought to haue the rule of the Parliament, & ſo to order the fact, that the lords and commons ſhould firſt proceed vpon the Articles limitted by the King, or that the ſhould firſt haue anſwere of the King, vpon the articles propounded by thē, before they proceed any further?

7 *Item, whether may the King when he pleaſe diſſolue the Parliament, and command the Lordes and commons to depart, or no?*

8 *Item, ſince the King may at his pleaſure remoue any of his Officers and Iuſtices, & puniſh them for their offences: whether may the Lords any commons without the Kings will, accuſe his Officers & Iuſtices in Parliament for their offences, yea, or no?*

9 *Item, what puniſhment haue they deſerued, who moued in Parliament, that the Statute whereby King* Edward Carnaruane *was depoſed ſhould be brought forth, by view whereof, the new Statute ordinance and commiſſion aforeſaid were framed?*

10 *Item, whether the iudgment giuen in the laſt Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, againſt* Michael Delapoole *Duke of Suffolke, was erronious and reuocable, yea, or no?*

Theſe queſtions or rather quarrells were drawne by *Iohn Blake*, a Counceiler at the Law, by direction of Iuſtice *Triſilian*, whileſt the King made his ſtay in Wales: to the which the Iuſtices afore-named, ſome in diſcharge of their owne malice, and ſome to ſatisfie the mindes of other, made anſwere as followeth.

To the firſt, that they did derogate from the prerogatiue of the King, becauſe they were againſt his will.

To

To the ſecond and third: that they are to be puniſhed by death, except it pleaſeth the king to pardon them.

To the fourth and fifth: that they are worthy to be puniſhed as traitours.

To the ſixth: that whoſoeuer reſiſteth the kings rule in that point, deſerueth to be puniſhed as a traitour.

To the ſeuenth: that the king may at his pleaſure diſſolue the Parliament, and whoſoeuer ſhall afterwards proceed, againſt the kings mind, as in a Parliament, he is worthy to be puniſhed as a traitour.

To the eight: that they can not, and whoſoeuer doeth the contrary, he deſerueth to be puniſhed as a traitour.

To the ninth: that aſwell the motioner as alſo the bringer of the ſaid ſtatute to the Parliament, are worthy to be puniſhed as traitours.

To the tenth, they anſwered: that the ſaid iudgement ſeemed to them erronious and reuocable in euery part. *In witneſſe whereof, the iuſtices aforeſayd, with* Iohn Locktone *the kings Sergeant at law, haue ſubſcribed and ſet their ſeales to theſe preſents &c.*

When theſe bloody ſentences of death and treaſon, were vnder generall & large termes thus faſtened vpon the lords, the king ſuppoſed his attempts againſt them, whether by violence, or by couler of law ſufficiently warranted: but his power both wayes, as it was terrible againſt weake reſiſtance, ſo againſt ſuch mighty defendants it was of ſmall force to effect that which he ſo much affected. Yet he did not omit his beſt indeuour: and firſt, accounting the lordes as condemned perſons, he made diuiſion of their lands and goods among thoſe that hee fauoured. Then hee waged ſouldiers to be in a readineſſe for his aſſiſtance, and ſent the earle of Northumberland to arreſt the earle of Arundell, at his caſtle in Reygate, where he then lay. But the earle of Arundell, either vpon aduertiſement, or ſuſpition of the kings minde, banded himſelfe ſo ſtrong, that when the earle of Northum-

Northumberland came vnto him, he diſſembled his intent, and left his purpoſe vnperformed. Thus were theſe proceedings of the king, as now in counſell, ſo afterwards in euent, not much vnlike that which the Fable telleth of a certaine hunter, who firſt ſold the skinne of the beare, and then went about to take her: but when he came within the forreſt, either by vnskilfulneſſe or miſaduenture, he not onely miſſed his pray, but fell himſelfe into danger of the beaſt.

The duke of Glouceſter hauing ſecret intelligence of the kings diſpleaſure and of his drift, ſent the biſhop of London to perſwade the king to entertaine a more fauourable opinion of him: making faith to the biſhop with a ſolemne oath, that he neuer entended any thing to the preiudice of the king, either in perſon or ſtate. The Biſhop not vnskilfull to ioyne profitable perſwaſion with honeſt, declared to the king that his diſpleaſure againſt the Lords was not grouded vpon iuſt deſert, but either vpon falſe ſuggeſtions of their enemies, or erronious miſtaking of ſome of their actions: how deſirous they were of his grace and fauour: how faithfull and forward they promiſed to perſiſt in all dutifull ſeruice: how honourable this agreement would be to the king: how profitable to the realme: and how daungerous to both, theſe troubles might encreaſe. The king ſeemed to giue good eare & credit to the biſhops ſpeech: but *Michael Delapoole*, a turbulent man, and againſt quiet counſell obſtinately contentious, ſtanding then by the king, ſoone ſtiffened his mind againſt all impreſſion of friendſhip. Hereupon contention did ariſe betweene the Biſhop and the Earle, and brake forth violently into heat of words. The Earle applied to the Lordes thoſe obiections wherewith great men are vſually charged: ſparing no ſpight of ſpeech, and vſing all arte to aggrauate matters againſt them. The biſhop replied that the Earle was thus fiercely bent, not vpon his owne neceſſity, nor loue to the king: but onely to ſatisfie his bloody and ambitious humour, wherein he was ſo immoderate, that ra-

ther then the lords ſhould not be deſtroyed, he would ouerwhelme them with the ruines of the ſtate, for tumults might in deed be raiſed by men of litle courage, but muſt be maintained with the hazzard, & ended with the loſſe of the moſt valiant: that neither his counſel in this matter was to be followed, being the principall fire-brand of the diſturbance, nor his complaints againſt any man to be any thing regarded, being himſelfe a condemned perſon, and one that held both his life and honor at the pleaſure of the king. At theſe words the king was exceedingly wroth, and charged the biſhop with menacing & threats to auoid his preſence. When the duke of Glocester had knowledge hereof, he ſignified the danger to the earles of Arundell, Warwicke, and Derbie, aduiſing them to take armes, and vnite themſelues for their common defence: for in ſo doubtfull and ſuſpected peace, open warre was the onely hope of ſafety. Theſe three Earles were the chiefeſt ſtrength to the ſide, but the Duke bare the moſt ſtroke, becauſe he was moſt bolde, and his greatneſſe almoſt obſcured the names of the reſt. On the other ſide, the king thinking ſeparate dealing the onely way to weaken a confederacy, endeuoured to preuent the lordes in ioying of their forces: and to that end he ſent a ſtrength of men with charge, either to ſet vpon the earle of Arundell where he did lie, or to intercept him in his paſſage towardes the Duke. But the Earle had traueiled all the night before their comming, and ſo happily eſcaped to Haringey parke, where he found the Duke and the other Earles with a ſufficient company, as well to make attempt, as to ſtand vpon reſiſtance.

When the king heard hereof, he was diſturbed and diſtracted in minde, being now in choiſe either to relent or to reſiſt, whereof he much diſdained the one, and diſtruſted the other. His followers alſo were diuided in counſell: ſome fretting at the diſgrace, and ſome fainting at the daunger. The Archbiſhop of Yorke perſwaded the king, that occaſion

was

was now offered to ſhew himſelf a King indeed, if he would muſter a royall armie, and by maine might beate downe the boldneſſe of this preſumption. NIHIL DICTV FACILIVS, ſaid another: *This is more readily deuiſed, thē done:* the army againſt vs is mighty, & the commanders are great men, both for courage and skill, and greatly fauoured of the common people: whereby that which is accompted ſo ready pay, may chaunce to prooue a deſperate debt. Therefore it were better with ſome yeelding to enter into conditions of quiet, then by ſtanding vpon high points of honour to hazard the iſſue of a battaile, wherein the King cannot winne without his weakning, nor looſe without daunger of his vndoing. There was then in preſence, a certaine olde Knight, called Sir *Hugh Linne*, a good ſouldier, but a very mad-cap, & one that liued chiefely vpon the liberalitie of noble men; by vaine ieſtes affecting the grace of a pleaſant conceite: of him the King demaunded in mirth, what he thought beſt to be done? Sir *Hugh* ſwore, ſwownes, and ſnayles, let vs ſet vpon them, and kill euery man and mothers childe; and ſo we ſhall make riddance of the beſt friendes you haue in the Realme, this giddie anſwere more weighed with the King, then if it had beene ſpoken in graue and ſober ſort: and thus it often happeneth, that wiſedome is the more ſweetly ſwallowed, when it is tempered with folly, and earneſt is the leſſe offenſiue, if it bee deliuered in ieſt. In the end, the deuiſe of rayſing armes was laide aſide, not as diſpleaſing (being ſo agreable to former proceedings) but as deſpayring to preuaile thereby; and the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, with the Biſhop of Ely being Lord Chaunceller, were ſent vnto the Lordes, to vnderſtand the cauſe of their aſſemblie: anſwere was made, that it was for the ſafetie of themſelues; the honour of the King; and the ouerthrow of them which ſought the ouerthrow of both. At the laſt it was concluded by mediation of the Biſhops, that the Lordes ſhould come before the King at Weſtminſter, vpon promiſe of his protection, and

there haue audience concerning their grieſes: the Biſhop of Ely alſo making priuat faith, that he wold diſcouer any danger that he could diſcrie, a litle before the time they ſhould come, the Biſhoppe of Ely ſent word, of an awaite that was purpoſed to be layed for them, at a place called the Mewes, neere London; aduiſing thē either to make ſtay, or to come prepared: but rather to make ſtay, leaſt further prouocation might make reconcilement more hard, hereupon they came not at the time appointed, and the King maruailing at their failance, enquired the cauſe of the Biſhop of Ely: who aunſwered, that the Lords found want of true meaning, & that they neither did, nor durſt repoſe aſſurance to the Kings word, which they ſaw to bee vſed as a meanes to entrape them, the King made the matter very ſtrange vnto him, affirming with an oath that he was free from deceite, both in conſent and knowledge: and in a great rage, he commaunded the Sherifes of London to goe to the place, and ſlay all thoſe whome they found there in waite. Whether this was but a countenance of his, or whether he was not priuie to the practiſe, it is not aſſuredly knowne, and indeede, the matter was not falſe, but the place miſtaken: for Sir *Thomas Triuet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* had aſſembled many armed men at Weſtminſter, with direction to aſſault the Lords at their beſt aduantage: but perceiuing their deceite to be diſcouered, they diſſolued the companie, and ſent them ſecretly away to London.

Then the Lordes, vpon new faith for their ſecuritie, came to the King at Weſtminſter, and yet in faith they brought ſecuritie with them, ſuch troupes of men, as in a place where they were ſo entirely fauoured, was able to defend them, in any ſuddaine tumult or danger: the King vpon their comming entred into Weſtminſter Hall, apparelled in his royall robes: and when he was placed in his ſeate, and had compoſed himſelfe to maieſtie and ſtate, the Biſhop of Ely Lord Chaunceller, made a long Oration to the Lordes in the

Kings

Kings name. Wherein he declared, the heinouſneſſe of their offence, the greatneſſe of their perill, how eaſie a matter it had beene for the King to haue leuied a power ſufficient to deſtroy them; and yet for the generall ſpare of his ſubiectes bloud, and in particular fauor to the Duke and other Lords, he made choyſe to encounter and ouercome them, rather by friendſhip then by force: and therefore was willing, not only to pardon their ryote, but alſo to heare their griefs, and in a peaceable and quiet manner to redreſſe them. The Lordes alleaged for cauſes of their taking armes, firſt the neceſſitie of their owne defence: ſecondly, the lone both of the King and of the Realme, whoſe fame and fortune did dayly decline, by meanes of certaine traytort, who liued onely by the diſhonors of the one, and decayes of the other, thoſe whom they challenged for traytors, were *Robert Veere* Duke of Ireland, *Alexander Neuill* Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Michaell Delapoole* Earle of Suffolk, *Robert Triſiliane* Lord chiefe Iuſtice, Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, and certaine others, ſomewhat ſecreter, but nothing better: and to iuſtifie this appeale, they threw down their gloues, and offered themſelues to the triall by combat. The king replied, that often times the cauſes of actions being good, yet, if the meanes want moderation and iudgement, the euents proue pernicious: and therefore, though theſe complaints were true, yet were theſe courſes not tolerable, which did beare an open face of rebellion, and by licentiouſneſſe of the multitude, might ſoone haue ſorted to ſuch an end: for it is more eaſie to raiſe the people, then to rule them: whoſe furie once ſtirred, will commonly bee diſcharged ſome wayes. But (ſaid he) ſince we haue broken this broile, we will not by combatting giue occaſion of a new: but as the next parlament (which he appointed ſhould begin the third day of February then next enſuing) as well you, as they, ſhall be preſent, and iuſtice indifferently done vnto all. In the meane time, he tooke all parties into his protection, that none ſhould endanger or endammage another: Craſtino purificationis.

deſiring the Lordes to beare in minde, that as princes muſt not rule without limitation, ſo ſubiects muſt vſe a meane in their libertie. Then he cauſed the duke & the Earles, which all this time kneeled before him, to ariſe, & went with them into his priuate Chamber, where they talked a while, and drunk familiarly together, & afterwards, with a moſt friendly farwell he licenced them to depart. They of the contrarie faction were not preſent at this meeting, and if they had, it was thought, that the preſence of the King ſhould little haue protected them.

This act of the King was diuers waies taken: ſome iudged him fearefull: others moderate, rather in ſparing the bloud of his ſubiectes. The Lordes were very ioyfull of his goodwill and fauor, which as by baſe or bad meanes they would not ſeeke, ſo being wel gotten, they did highly eſteeme. Yet they thought it the ſafeſt courſe, not to ſeperate themſelues, ſuſpecting the mutabilitie of the King, and the malice of their enemies, of whome they knewe neither where they were, nor what they did intend: and being men of great wealth, and great power, and greatly bent to hurtful practiſes, they were feared not without a cauſe: for the Duke of Ireland, either by ſetting on, or ſufferance of the King, was all this time muſtering of Souldiers out of Cheſhire and Wales, where he gathered an armie both for number, and goodneſſe of men ſufficient, if another had beene generall, to haue maintained the ſide.

When the Lordes were aduertiſed hereof, they deuided themſelues, & beſet all the waies by which the Duke ſhould paſſe to London; determining to encounter him, before he did increaſe his power, and countenance his actions with the puiſſance or name of the King. At the laſt he was met by the Earle of Derby, at a place called Babbelake neere to Burford: and there the Earle put his men in array, reſoluing with great boldnes to hazard the battaile, his Souldiers alſo were ful of courage and hart, diſliking nothing more then

delay,

delay, as a loosing of time, and a hinderance to the victorie: but the Duke, being a man not fit for action, yet mutinous, and more apt to stirre strife, then able to stint it: vpon newes of an enemie would presently haue fled. There was then in the armie as a principall Commander, one Sir *Thomas Molineux*, Constable of Cheshire, a man of great wealth, and of good proofe in seruice, vpon whose leading all that countrie did depend: he perswaded the Duke, that this was but a part of the forces that were against them, and led onely by the Earle of Derby, a man of no speciall name (at that time) among the Lordes, and if they could not beare through that resistance, it was but in vaine to attempt any great atchiuement by armes. Hereupon the Duke stayed his steps, but his faint spirits were mooued by this speech, rather to desire victory then to hope it: his souldiers also were dul, silent, & sad, and such as were readier to interpret, then execute the captaines commandement. So they ioyned battell, but scarse ten ounces of bloud was lost on both sides, before the duke of Ireland set spurres to his horse, and forsooke the field. His souldiers seeing this, threw away their vnfortunat weapons, more for indignation then for feare, ruffling their rancks, and yeelding to the Earle the honour of the field. Sir *Thomas Molineux* in flying away, was forced to take a Riuer which was neere, and as hee was comming foorth againe, a certaine Knight whose name was Sir *Thomas Mortimer*, pulled off his helmet, and stabbed him into the braines with his dagger. The rest submitted themselues to the discretion of the victorours, making them lords ouer their life, and death: but their yeelding was no sooner offered, then it was accepted, the Earle presently commaunding that none should be harmed, but those that did make resistance, or beare armour: the Souldiers also being willing to shew fauour towardes their countreymen, as ledde into this action, partly vpon simplicitie, partly to accompany these which came vpon feare. Then the Gentlemen were

ſtill reteined in the Earles company, the common ſouldiers were diſpoiled of their armour onely, and ſo returned againe to their peaceable buſineſſe at home. And this was the firſt act whereby reputation did riſe to the ſide, and the greatnes began, whereunto the Earle afterwards attained.

The Duke of Ireland, at the beginning of his flight, was deſirous to haue paſſed the riuer which ranne by: and comming to a bridge, he found the ſame broken: from thence he poſted to another bridge, which he found guarded with Archers. At the laſt, his fearefulneſſe being feared away (as nothing maketh men more deſperate vpon a doubtfull danger, then feare of that which is certaine) he aduentured to take the ſtreame; in the midſt wherof, he forſooke his horſe; and ſwam to the other ſide, and ſo by benefit of the night eſcaped, and fled into Scotland: and ſhortly after paſſed the ſeas into Flanders, and from thence traueiled into France: where the continual gall of his griefe ſoone brought his loathed life to an end. His horſe was taken with his breſt-plate, his helmet and his gauntlets, whereupon it was generally ſuppoſed that he was drowned; and (as in great vncertainetie it often happeneth) ſome affirmed that they ſawe his death, which men either glad to heare, or not curious to ſearch, did eaſily beleeue: whether this were thus contriued of purpoſe, or fell ſo out by chance, it was a great meanes of his eſcape, by ſtaying the purſute after him, which otherwiſe had bene made. His coach alſo was taken, and ceraine of the Kings letters found, wherein he deſired the Duke to come to London with all the power and ſpeede hee could make, and he would be ready to die in his defence; ſo vnskilfull was he in matters of gouernment, that to pleaſure a few, he regarded not the diſcontentment of all the reſt.

The Earle of Suffolke, vpon this accident, ſhaued his beard, and in baſe and diſguiſed attire fled to Calice, and either for feare, or for ſhame, neuer after returned into England: he was a cruell ſpoiler, and a careleſſe ſpender, in war contemptible,

contemptible, in peace in-supportable, an enemie to all cou-saile of others and in his owne conceite obstinatly contentious; of a good wit, and ready speach, both which hee abused, to the cunning commending of himselfe, and crafty depraiuing of others: he was lesse loued but better heard of the King then the Duke of Ireland: the more hurtful man & the more hateful: the Duke being charged with no great fault: but onely the Kings excessiue fauour, in their course of good and bad fortune, both of them were famous alike. Also the Archbishop of Yorke, Iustice Trisiliane, and others of that faction, ran euery man like connies to their couerte: Yea the king betooke himselfe to the Tower of London, and there made prouision for his winter aboade; hauing all his courses now crossed, first rashnesse in taking armes, and afterwards by cowardise in maintaining them.

The Earle of Darby signified this successe to his associates by letters, yet without any vaunting or enlarging teams: his speaches also were moderate, rather exstenuating his fact then extolling it: but by stopping his fame, it much increased when men esteemed his high thoughtes by his lowely wordes, and his conceite in great exploites, by his contempt of this. Then the Lords met, and marched together towards London, whether they came vpon *S. Stephens* day, hauing almost forty thousand men in their armie, & first they shewed themselues in battaile array, in the fieldes neare vnto the Tower, within the viewe of the King: afterwardes, they tooke vp their lodging in the suburbes, the Maior and aldermen of the citty came forth, and gaue liberall allowance, of victuall to the souldiers, offering vnto the Lordes entertainment within the Citty, but they did not accept it.

Now this discord seemed to draw to a dangerous distraction of the common-wealth; the vanquished parte being ful of malice, and the conquerors of presumption: the one wanting power, the other right to command and rule. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and certaine others of the neutrality,

fearing the ſequele, perſwaded the king to come to a treaty with the lordes: but he made ſhewe of very light regard of all theſe dealings; let them ſtay (ſaide hee) vntill they haue wearied themſelues with maintaining this multitude, and then I will talke further with them. When the lords vnderſtood the drift of his deuiſe, they beſet the Thames, and all other paſſages, & proteſted, that they would not depart vntill they had talked with him to his face. The King hauing neyther ſtrength to reſiſt, nor ſcope to ſcape, conſented to a treaty, and to that end deſired the lords to come to him into the Tower: but they refuſed that place of meeting, vpon feare of falſe meaſure, vntil the King permitted thē to ſearch as diligently, and come as ſtrongly as they thought it meete. So they came vnto the King well guarded, and after a fewe colde kindneſſes, and ſtrange ſalutations, they laide before him, his proceedings againſt them at Nottingham; his letters which he ſent to the duke of Ireland contrary to his worde, for the rayſing of armes againſt them: his agreement with the French King, for the yeelding vp of Callice and other ſtrong holdes which he poſſeſſed in thoſe parts: with diuers other pointes of diſhonourable dealing and negligent gouernment. What ſhould the King then haue ſaid or done? all theſe matters were ſo euident and ſo euill, that there was no place left eyther for denyall or defence. Therefore ingenuouſly, firſt with ſilence and patience, afterwards with teares he confeſſed his errors. And certainely, the ſtiffe ſtomack of the lords relented more to theſe luke warme drops then they would haue done to his cannon ſhot.

Then it was agreed, that the next day the King ſhould meet with them at Weſtminſter, & there treat further, both of theſe, and other neceſſarie affaires of the realme. So the Duke, and the reſt of the lords departed, except the Earle of Darby, who ſtayed ſupper with the King, and all that time ſtayed him in his promiſed purpoſe: but when hee was alſo gone, ſome of the ſecrete counſailers, or corrupters rather,

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and abuſers of the King, whiſtled him in the eare, that his going to Weſtminſter was neither ſeemly nor ſafe, and would cauſe not onely to his perſon preſent danger and contempt, but alſo both abaſement and abridgement to his authority afterwards. The Kings minde was ſoone changed; but the Lords being now ſtirred, and feeling the Kings hand weake to gouerne the bridle, became the more vehement, and ſent him word, that if hee did ieofaile with them, and not come according to appointment, they would chuſe another King, who ſhould haue his Nobility in better regard. This peremptorie meſſage ſo terrified the King, that hee not onely went to Weſtminſter, but ſuffered the Lords to doe there euen what they would. So they cauſed him much againſt his liking, to remoue out of the Court, *Alexander Neuill*, Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Iohn Foorde*, Biſhop of Duriſme, Frier *Thomas Ruſhoke*, Biſhop of Chicheſter, the Kings Confeſſor: Likewiſe they remoued the Lord *Souch*, the Lord *Haringworth*, Lord *Burnell*, Lord *Beaumont*, Sir *Albred Veere*, Sir *Baldewine Bereford*, Sir *Richard Alderburie*, Sir *Iohn Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, and Sir *Iohn Lowell*, taking ſuerties for their appearance at the next Parliament. Alſo certain Ladies were expelled the Court, and put vnder ſuerties: to wit, the Lady *Mowen*, the Lady *Moling*, & the Lady *Ponings*, which was the wife of Sir *Iohn Woorth*. Furthermore, they arreſted *Simon Burlye*, *William Elingham*, *Iohn Saliſburie*, *Thomas Trinet*, *Iames Berneis*, *Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Nicholas Brambre* Knights, *Richard Clifforde*, *Iohn Lincolne*, and *Richard Motford*, Clearkes, *Iohn Beauchampe* the Kings Steward, *Nicholas Lake*, Deane of the Kings Chappell, and *Iohn Blake* Counceller at the Law: all theſe were committed to diuers Priſons, where they were forth-comming, but not comming foorth, vntill the Parliament next following.

After the feaſt of the Purification, the Parliament began at London, (and yet the King vſed many meanes, either to daſh or deferre the ſame) to which the Lordes came, atten- 1388

ded with the number and ſtrength of a full armie: vpon colour, to repreſſe any ryote that might happen to ariſe: but in truth, that by this terrour, they might draw the whole manage of affaires vnto themſelues. This aſſembly continued vntill Whitſontide next following, with verie great feare of ſome men, and hope of others, and expectation of all. Herein was Iuſtice *Triſilian*, by counſaile of the Lordes, againſt the Kings minde, condemned to bee drawne and hanged: which iudgement was preſently executed vpon him: the like ſentence and execution paſſed vpon Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, Sir *Iohn Salisburie*, Sir *Iames Burnell*, *Iohn Beauchampe*, the Kings ſteward, and *Iohn Blake* Eſquire, who had framed the Articles which were exhibited againſt the Lordes at Nottingham. Alſo the Iuſtices who gaue their iudgement concerning thoſe Articles, *Robert Belknape*, *Iohn Holte*, *Roger Fulthorpe*, and *William Burgho*, were condemned to perpetuall exile: and yet they did not interpoſe themſelues, but intermeddle by conſtraint. Sir *Simon Burlye* was alſo beheaded, who was keeper of Doner Caſtle, and had conſpired to deliuer the ſame vnto the Frenchmen: hee was infinitely haughtie and proude, equall to the meaneſt in virtue and wiſedome, but in brauerie and traine inferiour to no Duke. Diuers other were either put to death, or baniſhed, and ſome (as it happened when the reyne of furie is at large) without any great cauſe. The Earle of Derby furthered no mans death, but laboured verie inſtantly for the life and libertie of many, in ſo much as hoat ſpeeches did ariſe betweene the Duke of Glouceſter and him: whereby he purchaſed a fauourable opinion among thoſe of the contrarie part, hauing cauſed the death of no man, but onely in the fielde. Then was an oath exacted of the King, to ſtand to the gouernment of the Lordes: and alſo an oath was taken of all the ſubiects within the Realme, to be true and faithfull vnto the King. The king in taking this oath of the Lords, bewrayed his inward conceite by his open countenance, looking

king pleaſantly on thoſe he fauoured, and angerly on thoſe whome hee hated; by which vntimely diſcouery, he made them more heedefull, and himſelfe more hatefull: which were occaſions afterwarde, both to preuente the reuenge, which he much deſired, and to procure the miſchiefs which hee little feared. Laſtly, a ſubſidie was graunted: and ſo the King comming as it were to a capitulation with the lordes, hee to haue the name of a King, and they the authority and maieſty, the contention for that time ceaſed.

All this was done in the xj. yeere of the kings reigne, he being yet vnder age, and in gouernment of others. But the yeere following, he beganne to take vpon him more liberty and rule: and vpon extreame diſdaine, that both his pleaſure and his power were by the Lords thus reſtrained, he did euer after beare a hard minde againſt them. And firſt he aſſembled them in the Councell chamber, and there demanded, of what yeeres they tooke him to be: they anſwered, that he was ſomewhat aboue one and twenty; then (ſayd he) I am of lawfull age to haue the regiment in mine owne hand, and therefore you doe me wrong to holde me ſtill vnder gouernment, as though the condition of a king were harder then of a ſubiect. This the Lords were neither willing to grant, nor able to denie, and therefore they either kept ſilence, or ſpake little to the purpoſe. Well (ſayd the king) ſince I am no longer an Infant, I heere renounce your rule, and take vpon me ſuch free adminiſtration of the Realme, as the Kings thereof, my predeceſſours heeretofore haue lawfully vſed. Then preſently he began his Phaetons flouriſh, and commaunded the Biſhop of Elie being L. Chancellour to reſigne his ſeale; which the king receiued, and put vp, and therewith departed out of the chamber: but ſoone after he returned againe, and deliuered the ſame to *William Wickham* biſhop of Wincheſter, conſtituting him L. Chancellour thereby. Many other officers he likewiſe depoſed; and placed new in their roome; partly to manifeſt his autho- 1389

rity, and partly to ſatisfie his diſpleaſure. Alſo he remooued the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earle of Warwicke, and many others from his Priuy Councell, and tooke thoſe in their places, which more regarded the humour of the King, but leſſe his honour.

Soone after, it was ſuggeſted to the King, that the Duke of Glouceſter was gathering of forces againſt him; but vpon examination there was found not onely no truth, but no ſhew or colour of any ſuch matter. The Duke would not quietly haue diſgeſted the rayſing of theſe reports: but the King, whether vpon a generall delight, to be tickled in the eares with ſuch tales, or vpon particular deſire to haue ſome quarrell againſt the Duke, charged him to ſilence.

1390 In the 13. yeare of the Raigne of King *Richard*, the Citizens of Genua deſired his ayde, againſt the Barbarians of Afrike, who with dayly incurſions, infeſted and ſpoyled all the Sea coaſts & Ilands of Italy, & Fraunce, which fronted vpon them. The King ſent a choyſe companie of Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Henry* Earle of Derby; who behaued himſelfe in this charge with great integritie & courage, inciting his men, the good by prayſe, the bad by example rather then reproofe, as more ready to commend the vertues of the one, then to vpbraide the vices of the other. And firſt hee paſſed into Fraunce, and there ioyned himſelfe to certaine French forces, appointed likewiſe for this ſeruice: then with might and minds vnited, they ſayled together into Afrike. At their arriuall, the Barbarians were ready in armes, to keepe them from landing: but the Earle commaunded his Archers to breake through and make paſſage, diſpiſing the enemie, whome he knew to be weake, and vnskilfull in ſeruice, and not to haue that aduantage in place, which hee had in men: the Frenchmen alſo ſharply ſet in, & ſeconded the Engliſh; and ſo whileſt both companies contended, the one to be accompted a helpe, & the other to ſeeme to need no helpe, the enemies were forced to flie, and leaue the ſhoare vnto the Chriſtians.

Chriſtians. In this conflict, three Dukes of the Barbarians and aboue three hundred Souldiers were ſlaine, and in the flight, fower Dukes were taken, and a great, yet vncertaine number of common people. Then the Chriſtians marched directly towards Tunis, the head Citie of that Country: this they beſieged, & in ſhort time tooke, chiefely by the prowes of the Engliſh ſouldiers, who firſt ſcaled the Walls, and reared thereon the Earles banner. When they were entred the Towne, the Engliſhmen bent their endeuour, to the houſing of their enemies, and beating downe of ſuch as made reſiſtance, but the Frenchmen ſtraightwaies turned to their laſciuious pleaſures: ſo that there was preſented a ſpectacle, both pitiful & ſhameleſſe: in one place butchering of men, in another ryoting with women: here ſtreames of bloud, and heapes of ſlaughtered bodies, hard by diſſolute and licentious wantonneſſes in ſome, all the miſeries of a cruell warre, and the looſeneſſe of a ſecure peace. Here were ſlaine and taken aboue fower thouſand Barbarians: the Kings brother alſo was ſlaine: but the King himſelfe fled into the Caſtle, which was ſtrongly ſcited, and well fortified and furniſhed with men. The Chriſtians laid ſiege to this Caſtle the ſpace of fiue weekes, during which time, they loſt many of their men, yet not by ſword, but by ſickneſſe: the Barbarians alſo were diſtreſſed with want of victuall, hauing but little prouiſion, and many vnprofitable mouthes to conſume it: hereupon they ſent vnto the Chriſtians, to deſire peace, offering them a great ſumme of money, to depart out of their countrey: this the Chriſtians accepted, vpon condition, that they might alſo freely carry with them, all their pray and priſoners; and that the Barbarians ſhould from thenceforth surceaſe from making ſpoyle, vpon any of the coaſtes of Italy, or Fraunce. Thus had this voyage a proſperous and ſpeedie end: the onely ſeruice (as I ſuppoſe) which the Engliſh and Frenchmen performed together, without iotte of iarre. And yet the Earle abuſed not the fortune of this ſucceſſe, to vain

vaunting, or brauing in words, but moderately imparted to the reſt, the honour of the exployt: ſo by valyantly performing his charge, and ſparingly ſpeaking thereof, his glorie encreaſed, without bit of enuie.

1392 1393 In the fifteenth and ſixteenth yeres of the reigne of King *Richard*, certaine cauſes of diſcontentment did grow, betweene the King and the Londoners, which ſet the fauour of the one, and the faith of the other, at great ſeparation and diſtance: One was, for that the King would haue borrowed of them a thouſand poundes: which they feeling much, and fearing more the Kings daily exactions, did not onely deny, but euill intreated a certaine Lumbard, who offered to lay out the money.

Another griefe was thus occaſioned: One of the Biſhop of Salisburies ſeruants, named *Romane*, meeting in Fleet-ſtreet with a Bakers man, bearing horſe-bread, tooke a loafe out of his basket: and by rude demaund of the one, and rough deniall of the other, chollar ſo kindled betwixt them, that *Romane* brake the Bakers head. Hereupon the neighbors came forth, and would haue arreſted the Biſhops luſty yeoman: but he eſcaped, and fled to this Biſhops houſe. The Conſtable followed peaceably, and demaunded a quiet deliuery of the offendour: but the Biſhops men ſhut the gates againſt him, that no man could come neere. Then much people flocked together, threatening to breake open the gates, and fire the houſe, vnleſſe *Romane* were brought forth vnto them: What (ſayd they) are the Biſhops men priuiledged? or is his houſe a ſanctuary? or will he protect thoſe whom he ought to puniſh? if we may be ſhuffled off in this ſort, not onely our ſtreets, but our ſhoppes and our houſes ſhall neuer be free from violence and wrong. This we will not endure: we can not: it ſtandeth not vs in hand. Heerewith they approched the gates, and began to vſe violence: but the Maior and Shiriffes of the Citty, vpon aduertiſement of this tumult, came amongſt them, crying out, that it was

not

not courage, but out-rage which they ſhewed: whereby they would procure, both daunger to themſelues and diſpleaſure againſt the whole Citty; that although wrong had beene receiued, yet they were not the men, nor this the meanes to redreſſe the ſame: So partly by their perſwaſions, partly by their preſence and authoritie, they repreſſed the riot, and ſent euery man away, with ſtreight charge to keep the peace. Here was yet no great harme done, and the quarrell might haue beene quieted without more adoe, had not the Biſhop ſtirred therein, and kindled the coales of vnkindneſſe a freſh. For the Londoners at that time, were not onely ſuſpected ſecretly, but openly noted to be fauourers and followers of wickliffes opinions: for which cauſe, they were much maliced of the Biſhops; and many of their actions interpreted, to proceede from another minde, and tend to a worſe ende, then was outwardly borne in countenance and ſhew: and ſome matters of chaunce, were taken as done of purpoſe. Therefore the Biſhop of Salisburie called *Iohn Waltham*, who was alſo treaſurour of England, made a grieuous complaint of this attempt, to *Thomas Arundle* Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellour; affirming, that if vpon euery light pretence, the citezens might be ſuffered in this ſort to inſult vpon the biſhoppes, without puniſhment, without reproofe and blame, they woulde bring into hazzard, not onely the dignity and ſtate: but the libertie alſo of the whole Church: did they not lately take vpon them the puniſhment of adulteries, and other crimes appertaining to eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction? maliciouſly alleaging, that the biſhops and their officers, either beeing infamous for thoſe vices themſelues, did wincke at the ſame in others: or elſe by couetous commutation, did rather ſet them to ſale, then carefully repreſſe them. Did they not rudely and vnreuerently breake open the doores vpon the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and interrupte his proceedings againſt *Iohn Aſtone*, an open follower of wickliffe? and doe we think that this is the

laſt indignity that they will offer? no ſurely, nor yet the leaſt: and if this boldnes be not beaten downe, our authority will fall into open contempt and ſcorne, and be made a common foote-ball, for euery baſe citizen to ſpurne at. Herevpon they went together to the King, and ſo incenſed his diſpleaſure againſt the Londoners, (being prepared thereto by former prouocations) that hee was in the mind to make ſpoyle of the citty, and vtterly to deſtroy it. But being perſwaded to ſome more moderation in reuenge, firſt hee cauſed the Maior and Shiriffes, and many of the chiefe citizens to be apprehended, and committed to diuers ſeuerall priſons: then hee ceazed all the liberties of the citty into his hands, and ordayned, that no Mayor ſhould any more bee elected, but that the King ſhoulde at his pleaſure appointe a Warden and gouernour ouer the citty. This office was firſt committed to Sir *Edward Darlington*, who for his gentleneſſe towards the citizens, was ſhortly after remooued, and Sir *Baldwine Radington* placed in his roome. Alſo the King was induced, or rather ſeduced by the Archbiſhop of Yorke Lord Chauncellour, to remoone the Tearmes and Courtes: to write, the Chauncery, the Exchequer, the kings bench, the hamper, and the common pleas, from London, to be kept at Yorke, where the ſame continued from midſommer, in the yeere 1393. vntill Chriſtmaſſe next following, to the great hindrance and decay of the citty of London. At the leaſt, the King vpon earneſt intreaty of the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Duke of Glouceſter, called the Londoners before him at Windſore: where (hauing firſt terrified them with the preſence and ſhewe of a greate number of armed men) hee cauſed all the priuiledges of the citty, both old and newe, to be brought forth, whereof he reſtored ſome, and reſtrained the reſt: yet the Londoners were not fully receiued to fauour; neither recouered they at that time, either the perſon or dignity of their Mayor. Shortly after, the King went to London: at whoſe comming, the citizens

tizens changed all their griefe into gladneſſe (as the common ſorte is without meaſure in both) entertayning him with ſuch ioyfull triumphes and rich preſentes, as if it had beene the day of his coronation. They ſuppoſed with theſe great curteſies and coſts to haue ſatisfied his diſpleaſure; but they found themſelues farre deceiued: for they were not fully reſtoared to their liberties againe, vntill they had made fine, to pay vnto the King ten thouſand poundes. Thus did the Londoners manifeſt in themſelues, a ſtrange diuerſity of diſpoſition, both licenciouſly to committe offence, and paciently to endure puniſhment: hauing raſhneſſe and rage ſo tempered with obedience, that they were eaſily puniſhed, who could not poſſibly bee ruled. Yet for this cauſe, ſo ſoone as firſt occaſion did ſerue againſt the King, they ſhewed themſelues, either his earneſt enemies, or faint friends.

King *Richard* in the nineteenth yeare of his reigne, paſſed the ſeas to Calice: the French King alſo came downe to Arde: betweene which two Townes, a place was appointed, and tentes erected for both the Kings to meete. After large expenſes on both ſides, and great honour done by the one King to the other: a ſurceaſe of armes was concluded betweene them for thirtie yeeres: and King *Richard* tooke to wife Lady *Iſabell*, the French Kings daughter, being not aboue ſeuen or eight yeeres olde. The Duke of Glouceſter was ſo offended; both with this friendſhip, and affinitie, that he loſt all manner of patience: exclaiming, that it was more meete to be in armes, then in amitie with the French-men, who beeing inferiour to the Engliſh in courage, did alwayes ouer-reach them in craft, and being too weake for warre, did many times preuaile by peace: that now they had got into their handes many Townes and Holdes, appertaining to the Crowne of England, they were willing to conclude a peace, to exclude the King thereby from his poſſeſſions: but whenſoeuer occaſion ſhoulde

change for their aduantage, they would be then as ready to ſtart from the friendſhippe, as at that preſent they were to ſtrike it: that the French Kings daughter, being but a child, was very vnmeet for the marriage of King *Richard*, as well for diſparitie of age, as for that the King had no iſſue by his firſt wife, and was not like to haue any by this, except (perhappes) in his old and withered yeeres. When the Duke ſaw, that with theſe motiues he did nothing preuaile, he ſuborned the Londoners, to make petition to the King, that ſeeing there was peace with France, he would releaſe them of the Subſidie which they had graunted to him in regard of thoſe warres. This ſuite was inſtantly followed, and much perplexed the King, vntill the Duke of Lancaſter declared to the people, that the King had beene at the charge and diſpenſe of three hundred thouſand poundes in his voyage into France, for the procuring of this peace: whereupon they were pacified, and deſiſted from their demaund.

1397. The yeere following, *Guido* Earle of *S. Pauls*, was ſent into England by *Charles* King of Fraunce, to viſit and ſalute in his name, King *Richard*, and Queene *Iſabell* his wife, the French Kings daughter. To this Earle, the King did relate, with what feruencie the Duke of Glouceſter contended, to make diſturbance of the peace betweene England and France: how, becauſe his mind was not therein followed, hee mooued the people to ſeditious attempts, bending himſelfe wholly to maintaine diſcord and diſquiet, rather in his owne countrey, then not at all. He further reported, what ſtiffe ſtrifes in former times, the Duke had ſtirred: which, howſoeuer they were done, yet as they were declared, they ſounded very odious and hard. When the Earle heard this, he preſently anſwered, that the Duke was too daungerous a ſubiect to be permitted to liue: that greatneſſe was neuer ſafe, if it grow exceſſiue and bolde: that the King muſt not affect the vaine commendation of clemency,

clemency, with his owne perill: and that it touched him, both in honour to reuenge the diſgraces which he had receiued, and in policy to preuent the daungers which he had cauſe to feare. Theſe words ſo ſharpened the Kings diſpleaſure, that from thencefoorth he buſied his braines in no one thing more, then how to bring the Duke to his end. Now he began to pry more narrowly into his demeanour: to watch his words: to obſerue actions: and alwayes to interpret them to the woorſt, framing himſelfe to many vaine and needleſſe feares. Often-times he would complaine of him to the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Duke of Yorke, how fierce and violent he was in his ſpeeches, and croſſe to him in all matters. The Dukes would make anſwere, that the Duke of Glouceſter their brother, was indeed more hoat and vehement then they did commend: yet his fierceneſſe was ioyned with faithfulneſſe, and his croſneſſe proceeded from a care, leaſt the Common-wealth ſhould decreaſe either in honour or in poſſeſſions: and therefore the King had neither neede to feare, nor cauſe to diſlike.

About that time, the Dukes of Lancaſter and of Yorke withdrew themſelues from the court, to their priuate houſes the Duke of Glouceſter alſo went to lye at Plaſhey, neere Chelmesforde in Eſſex: vpon aduantage of which ſeperation, the King ſtood diſtracted in minde, betweene feare to differ, and ſhame to auow the deſtruction of the Duke, leaſt he might happily be diſappointed by the one, or diſhonoured by the other. Hereupon hee entred into counſaile with *Iohn Holland*, Earle of Huntington, his halfe brother: and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earle of Notingham, howe the Duke of Glouceſter might be ſuppreſſed or oppreſſed rather, the cruelty which was but wauering in the King, yea wanting by nature, was ſoone confirmed by euill aduiſe: and being once inclined to bloud, he did not faile, either of example of lewd action to followe: or direction of cruell counſaile what to doe: ſo the plotte was contriued, and according thereto, the

King and the Earle of Notingham rode together into Eſſex, as though it were to diſport themſelues in hunting: when they were in the middeſt of the Forreſt, the Earle made ſtay, and the King paſſed forth with a ſmall & vnſuſpicious company to the Duke, lying at Plaſhey: there he ſtayed dinner: and then pretending occaſion of preſent returne, he deſired the Duke to accompany him to London, the faire entreatie of a Prince, is a moſt forceable commaunde: therefore the Duke ſuppoſing that onely to bee intended indeede, which was pretended in ſhewe, went to horſe-backe with the King, taking ſuch ſmall attendance, as vpon the ſudden could be in a readineſſe, and appointing the reſt to come after him to London. So they rode together, vſing much familiar talke by the way, vntill they came neere the place of await: then the King put his horſe forwarde, and the Duke comming behinde, was ſuddenly intercepted and ſtayed, crying aloud, and calling to the King for his helpe: the King continued his iourney, as though he had not heard, and the Duke was violently carried to the Thames, and there ſhipped in a veſſell layed for the purpoſe, and from thence conueyed ouer to Caliee.

When the King came to London, he cauſed the Earle of Warwicke alſo to be arreſted and ſent to priſon, the ſame day that hee had inuited him to dinner, and ſhewed good countenance, and promiſed to be gracious Lord vnto him. Vpon the like diſſembled ſhewe, the Earle of Arundell, and his ſonne, and certaine others were arreſted alſo, and committed to priſon in the Ile of Wight.

The common people, vpon the apprehending of theſe three noble men, whome they chiefely, and almoſt onely fauoured, were in a great confuſion and tumult; and there wanted but a head to drawe them to ſedition: euery man ſorrowed, murmured, and threatned, and daring no further, ſtood waiting for one to leade them the way: all being ready to followe that, which any one was loath to beginne.

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The Duke of Lancaſter and of Yorke gathered a ſtrong armie, and came therewith to London, where they were readily receiued by the citizens, although the King had commaunded the contrarie: but this ſeemed to be done, rather for garde to themſelues, then regard to any others.

The king all this time, kept at a village called Helhame, within foure miles of London, hauing about him a great power of armed men, which he had gathered out of Cheſhire and Wales: and to pacifie the common people, hee cauſed to be proclaimed, that the Lordes were not apprehended vpon old diſpleaſures, but for offences lately committed, for which they ſhould be appealed by order of law, and receiue open triall, in the Parliament next following: the like meſſage was ſent to the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Duke of Yorke, lying at London: to whome the King made faith, for the ſafety of their perſons, and indemnitie of their goods, and that nothing ſhould be attempted without their priuitie and aduiſe: all this was as raſhly belieued, as it was craftely giuen out: whereupon the Dukes diſſembled their feares, and diſolued their forces, and remained in expectancie what would enſue.

A little before the feaſt of Saint Michael, the Parliament began at London, wherein Sir *Iohn Buſhie*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henrie Greene*, were principall agents for the Kings purpoſe. Theſe were then in all the credite and authoritie with the King, & his chiefeſt Schoole-maſters both of crueltie and deceite: they were proud, arrogant, and ambitious, and vpon confidence of the King fauour, profeſſed enemies to men of auncient Nobilitie; to the ende, that being lately ſtart vp, they might become more famous by maintaining contention with great perſons. And firſt, by their importunate trauaile, all the Charters of pardon, graunted by the King, were in this Perliament annulled and reuoked. Then the prelates did conſtitute Sir *Henrie Percie* their procurator, and departed the houſe, becauſe

they might not be preſent in iudgement of bloud. Laſtly, the Earle of Arundell, and the Earle of Warwicke were arraigned; and for the ſame offences, for which they had bene pardoned (namely for encroaching to themſelues royall power in iudging to death *Simon Burlye*, *Iohn Berneis* and others, without the Kings conſent) were condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered: but the King ſo moderated the ſeueritie of this ſentence, that the Earle of Arundell was onely beheaded, and the Earle of Warwicke committed to perpetuall impriſonment in the Ile of *Man*.

The Duke of Glouceſter, was ſo greatly fauoured, that it was thought a point both of policie and peace, not to bring him to his open anſwere, but to put him to death ſecretely: ſo he was ſtrangled vnder a fether bedde at Calice by the Earle of Notingham, being then Earle Marſhall: which death, howſoeuer he deſerued; yet dying as he did, not called, not heard, he dyed as guiltleſſe.

In this ſame Parliament, *Thomas Arundell* Archbiſhop of Canterburie was alſo accuſed, for executing the commiſſion againſt *Michaell Delapoole*, Earle of Suffolke: for which cauſe, his temporalties were ſeazed; his lands and goods forfeited, as well in vſe, as in poſſeſſion: and he himſelfe was adiudged to exile, & charged to depart the realme, within ſixe weekes then next enſuing. So hee went into Fraunce, where afterwardes, he became a principall meane of the reuolt which followed. Alſo the Lord *Cobham* was exiled into the Ile of Gernſey: and Sir *Reinold Cobham* was condemned to death, not for entring into any attempt againſt the King, but becauſe he was appointed by the Lords to be one of his gouernours, and of his counſaile, in the 11. yeare of his raigne.

Now the King falſely ſuppoſing, that hee was free from all daungers, and that the humour againſt him, was cleane purged and ſpent, conceiued more ſecreate contentment, then he would openly bewraye; as more able to diſſemble his

his ioy, then conceale his feare: being ſo blinded and bewitched with continuall cuſtome of flatteries, that hee perceiued not, that the ſtate of a Prince is neuer ſtabliſhed by crueltie and craft. On the other ſide, the common people were much diſmayed, hauing nowe loſt thoſe whome they accompted their onely helpes, and their onely hopes, both for their priuate affaires, and for ſupporting the ſtate: and becauſe theſe miſhapes hapned vnto them, for maintayning a cauſe of common diſlike, the peoples ſtomacke was ſtirred thereby to much hate and heart-burning againſt the King. And to make their deathes the more odious, the Earle of Arundell was reputed a martyr, and pilgrimages were dayly made to the place of his buriall: the rumour alſo was current, but without either authour or ground, that his head was miraculouſly faſtened againe to his body: this whileſt all men affirmed, and no man knew, the King cauſed the corpes to bee taken vp, and vjewed, ten dayes after it was interred; and finding the fame to bee fabulous, hee cauſed the ground to be paued where the Earle was layde, and all mention of his buriall to bee taken away, forbidding publickly any ſuch ſpeaches of him afterwards to bee vſed. But this reſtraint rayſed the more: and they, who if it had beene lawefull, would haue ſaide nothing, beeing once forbidden, could not forbeare to talke. It was alſo conſtantly reported, that the King was much diſquieted in his dreames with the Earle, who did often ſeeme to appeare vnto him, in ſo terrible and truculent manner, that breaking his fearefull ſleepe, hee would curſe the time that euer he knew him.

In the one and twenty yeare of the raigne of K. *Richard*, *Henry* Earle of Derby, was created Duke of Herforde: at which time the King created foure other Dukes: to wit, Duke of Aumerle, who was before Earle of Rutland: Duke of Southrey, who was before Earle of Kent: Duke of Excester, who was before Earle of Huntington: and Duke of Norfolke, who was before Earle of Nottingham. This 1398

degree of honour long time after, the conqueſt of the Normans (whoſe chiefeſt Rulers had no higher title) was accompted too great for a ſubiect to beare: the fourme of the common-wealth, beeing framed by the victors, farre from equality of all, and yet the King excepted without eminencie of any. At the length King *Edward* the third created his eldeſt Sonne *Edward* Duke of Cornewale, and made this honour hereditarie, conferring it vnto many: ſince which time, diuerſe Princes of this Land haue beene eyther put, or kept, or hazarded from their eſtate, by men of that quallity and degree. The King likewiſe created the Counteſſe of Norfolke, Ducheſſe of Norfolke: the Earle of Sommerſet, Marqueſſe of Sommerſet: the Lorde Spencer, Earle of Glouceſter: the Lorde Neuill, Earle of Weſtmerland: the Lorde Scroupe, Earle of Wiltſhire: and the Lorde Thomas Darcy his ſteward, Earle of Worceſter. Among theſe; hee made diuiſion of a great part of the landes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke; ſuppoſing by this double liberality, of honour and poſſeſſions, to haue purchaſed to himſelfe moſt firme friendſhips: but bought friendes, for the moſt parte, are ſeldome eyther ſatisfied, or ſure: and like certaine Rauens in Arabia, ſo long as they are full, doe yeeld a pleaſant voyce: but being emptie, doe make a horrible cry.

Now the Duke of Hereforde rayſed his deſires, togethes with his dignities, and eyther vpon diſdaine, at the vndeſerued fauour and aduancement of ſome perſons about the King: or vpon diſlike, that the King was ſo diſhonourably both abuſed and abaſed by them: or elſe (perhaps) vppon deſire, to manifeſt his owne ſufficiencie in matters of controulement and direction: being in familiar diſcourſe with *Thomas Mombraye* Duke of Norfolke, hee brake into complaint, how the King regarded not the noble Princes of his Bloud, and Peeres of the Realme, and by extremities vſed to ſome, diſcouraged the reſt from entermeddling in any publique

publique affaires: how in ſtead of theſe, hee was wholly gouerned by certaine new-found and new-fangled fauourites, vulgare in birth, corrupt in qualities, hauing no ſufficiencie eyther of councell for peace, or of courage for warre; who being of all men the moſt vnhoneſt, and the moſt vnable, with hatefulneſſe of the one, and contempt of the other, were generally diſpiſed in all the Realme: that hereby, Firſt the honour of the Kings perſon was much blemiſhed; for vngrate and vngracious adherents are alway the way to hatred and contempt: Secondly, the ſafetie of his ſtate might bee endaungered; for extraordinarie fauour to men apparently of weake or bad deſert, doth breede inſolencie in them, and diſcontentment in others, two daungerous humours in a common-wealth: Thirdly, the dignitie of the Realme was much empaired: whoſe fortune and valour, being guided by the ill chaunce of ſuch vnluckie leaders, ſtood neuer in the like termes of doubt and diſtreſſe; ſo that matters of peace were tumultuous and vncertaine, and atchiuements of warre were neuer brought to honourable concluſion: that *Alexander Seuerus* would haue ſmoaked ſuch ſellers of ſmoake; that Xerxes would haue pulled their skin ouer their eares; and high time it was, that the King ſhould looke vnto them: for the Nobilitie grew out of heart, the Commons out of hope, and all the people fell to a diſcontented murmuring. And this he ſaid (as he ſaid) not for any grudge, but for griefe and good will: and therefore deſired the Duke, who was one of the priuie Councell, and well heard with the King, to diſcouer vnto him theſe deformities and daungers, that by repayring the one, hee might happily repell the other.

Theſe wordes procured to the Duke of Hereforde both great offence, and great glorye: at the deliuerie whereof, the Duke of Northfolke made ſhewe of good liking, and promiſe of ſincere dealing. And in deede, if they had bin as faithfully reported by him, and by the King as friendlie

taken, as they were faithfully and friendlie meant, many miſchiefes might haue beene auoyded: but both of theſe did fayle: for the Duke of Norffolke, although in former times hee had taken part with the Lordes, yet afterwards, being deſirous to be accompted rather among the great men, then the good, he made ſale of his honour, to maintaine his pleaſure, and continue himſelfe in grace with the King, to which he was altogether enthralled; inſomuch, that the murthering of the Duke of Glouceſter, and the execution of the Earle of Arundell, was to his charge eſpecially committed: and ſuppoſing vpon this occaſion to make a free-hold of his Princes fauour, hee grieuouſly aggrauated theſe ſpeeches in reporting them, and yet cunningly to: with many lyes intermixing ſome truthes, or making the truth much more then it was. Againe, the King not enduring the ſcarch of his ſoares, did bend his minde rather to puniſh the boldneſſe, then examine the truth of theſe reproofes: his eares being ſo diſtempered with continuance of flatterie, that he accompted all ſharpe that was ſound, and liked onely that, which was preſently pleaſant, and afterwards hurtful. Thus we may dayly obſerue, that no ſtrange accident doth at any time happen, but it is by ſome meanes fore-ſhewed, or foretould: but becauſe theſe warnings are often-times eyther not marked, or miſconſtrued, or els contemned, the euents are accompted ineuitable, and the admonitions vaine.

The King beeing in this ſort touched by the one Duke, and tickled by the other, was not reſolued vpon the ſuddaine, what to doe: therefore he aſſembled his Councell, and called the two Dukes before him, and demaunded of the Duke of Norfolke, if hee would openly auouch that which hee had ſuggeſted in ſecret. The Duke ſeeing it was now no time for him, either to ſhrinke or ſhuffle in his tale, with a bolde and confident courage repeated all that before hee had reported. But the Duke of Hereforde could not bee borne downe by countenance, where his cauſe was good:

and

and therefore after a short silence, whereby hee seemed rather amazed at the strangenesse of this matter, then abashed at the guilt, he made low obeysance to the King, and greatly both thanked and commended him, that hee had not giuen hastie credite to matters of such tender touch, as his griefe might haue borne quit the blame of rashnesse in reuenge; desiring him to continue yet a while, the respite of his displeasure, and to reserue his iudgement free for indifferent audience. Then he declared in order, what speech had passed from him, vpon what occasion, and to what end: all the rest hee stoutly denyed, affirming, that it was falsely surmised by his aduersaries, (eyther vpon malice to picke a quarrell, or vpon sycophancie to picke a thanke,) and that thereupon hee was vntrue, vniust, a forger of slaunderous and seditious lyes, whereby he treacherously indeuoured to seduce the King to destroy the Nobility, and to raise disturbance within the realme: and this he offered to proue vpon him (if the King would permit) by the stroake of a speare, and by dint of sword. The Duke of Norfolks stomack not vsed to beare scorne, could not disgest these tearmes of disgrace: whereupon hee stiffely stood to his first imputation: and for maintenance thereof, hee accepted, and also desired the combat. The King would some other wayes haue quieted this contention, but the Dukes would agree to no other kinde of agreement: and thereupon threw downe their gloues one against the other, for gages. The King seeing their obstinacy, graunted them the battell, and assigned the place at the City of Couentry, in the moneth of August then next insuing: where in the meane time, hee vaulted a sumptuous Theater, and Lists royall to be prepared.

At the day of combat, the two Dukes came, well banded with Noblemen and Gentlemen of their linage. The Duke of Aumerle for that day hie Constable, and the Duke of Surrey for the same time and action, high Marshall of England, entred into the lists, with a great troop of men apparelled in

ſilke ſendale, embroydred with ſiluer, euery man hauing a tipped ſtaffe to keepe the field in order. About the time of prime, the Duke of Hereford came to the barriers of the liſts mounted vpon a white courſer, barbed with blew & greene veluet, embroydred gorgiouſly with Swans and Antilops of Gold-ſmiths worke, armed at all points, & his ſword drawn in his hand. The Conſtable and Marſhall came to the barriers, and demaunded of him, who hee was? He anſwered: I am *Henry* Duke of Hereford, and am come to do my deuoire againſt *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke, as a traitour to God, the King, the Realme, and me. Then he ſware vpon the Euangeliſts, that his quarrell was right, & vpō that point deſired to enter the liſts, then hee put vp his ſword, pulled downe his beauier, made a croſſe on his fore-head, and with ſpeare in hand, entred into the liſts, and there lighted from his horſe, and ſate downe in a chaire of greene veluet, which was ſet in a trauerſe of greene & blew veluet at the one end of the liſtes: and ſo expected the comming of his enemie. Soone after, King *Richard* entred the field with great pomp, both in brauery and traine: he had in his company, the Earle of *S. Paule*, who came purpoſely out of Fraunce to ſee this combat tryed: he was attended with all the noble Peeres of the Realme, and guarded with tenne thouſand men in armes, for feare of any ſudden or intended tumult.

When hee was placed on his ſtage, which was very curiouſly and richly ſet forth, a King at armes made proclamation in the name of the King, and of the high Conſtable, and of the Marſhall, that no man except ſuch as were appointed to order and Marſhall the fielde, ſhould touch any parte of the liſtes, vpon paine of death. This proclamation beeing ended, another Herrald cryed: Behold here, *Henry* of Lancaſter, Duke of Hereford, appellant, who is entred into the liſtes royall, to doe this deuoire, againſt *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of Norfolke, defendant, vpon paine to bee accompted falſe and recreant. The Duke of Norfolke was houering on

horſebacke

horſebacke at the entry of the liſtes, his horſe being barbed with crimſon veluet, embroadered ritchly with lions of ſiluer, and mulberrie trees: and when he had made his oath, before the Conſtable and Marſhall, that his quarrell was iuſt and true, he entred the fielde boldly, crying aloud God aide him that hath the right: then he lighted from his horſe, and ſatte downe in a chaire of Crimſon veluet, curtained aboute with red and white damaske, and placed at the other ende of the liſtes. The Lord Marſhall viewed both their ſpeares, to ſee that they were of equall length: the one ſpeare he caried himſelfe to the Duke of Hereford, and ſent the other to the Duke of Norfolke by a Knight. This done, a Herrald proclaymed, that the trauerſes and chayres of the combattants ſhould be remoued, commaunding them in the Kings name, to mount on horſebacke, and addreſſe themſelues to the encounter, the Dukes were quickly horſed, and cloſed their beauers, and caſt their ſpeares into the reſts. Then the trumpetes ſounded, and the Duke of Hereforde ſet forth towards his enemy, about ſixe or ſeauen paces: but before the Duke of Norfolke began to put forewarde, the King caſt downe his warder, and the Herralds cried, ho: then the King cauſed the Dukes ſpeares to be taken from them, and commaunded them to forſake their horſes, and returne againe to their chaires: where they remained aboue two long houres, whilſt the King deliberated with his councell what was fitteſt to be done. At laſt, the Herralds cryed ſilence: and Sir *Iohn Borey*, a ſecretary of ſtate, with a loude voice read the ſentence and determination of the King and his Councell out of a long roule: wherein was contained, that *Henry* of Lancaſter Duke of Hereford, appellant, and *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke, defendant, had honourably appeared that day within the liſts royall, and declared themſelues valiant and hardy champions; being not onely ready, but forward and deſirous to darrein the battell: but becauſe this was a matter of great conſequence & import, the King with

the aduice of his Councell, thought it meet to take the ſame into his owne hands: and thereupon had decreed, that *Henry* Duke of Hereford, becauſe hee had diſpleaſed the King, and for diuers other conſiderations, ſhould within 15. dayes next following, depart out of the Realme, and not to returne during the terme of ten yeeres, without the Kings eſpeciall licence, vpon paine of death.

When this iudgement was heard, a confuſed noyſe was rayſed among the people, ſome lamenting eyther the deſert, or the iniurie of the Duke of Hereforde, whom they exceedingly fauored: others laughing at the conceit of the King: firſt in cauſing, and afterwards in fruſtrating ſo great an expectation: wherein he ſeemed to doe not much vnlike *Caligula*; who lying in Fraunce with a great armie neere the ſea ſhoare, gaue the ſigne of battell, ſet his men in array, marched foorth as if it had beene to ſome great piece of ſeruice, and ſuddenly commanded them all to gather cockles.

Then the Herralds cryed againe, o yes: and the Secretarie did reade on, how the King had likewiſe ordayned, that *Thomas Moubraie* Duke of Northfolke, becauſe he had ſowen ſedition, by words whereof he could make no proofe, ſhould auoide the Realme of England, and neuer returne againe, vpon paine of death: and that the King would take the profits and reuenues of his lands, vntill he had receiued ſuch ſummes of money as the Duke had taken vp, for wages of the garriſon of Calice, which was ſtill vnpaide: and that the King prohibited, vpon paine of his grieuous diſpleaſure, that any man ſhould make ſuite or entreatie to him, on the behalfe of eyther of theſe two Dukes.

Theſe ſentences being in this ſort pronounced, the King called the two exiles before him, and tooke of them an oth, That they ſhould not converſe together in foraine Regions, nor one willingly come in place where the other was: fearing (as it was like) leaſt their common diſcontentment ſhould draw them, firſt to reconcilement, and afterward to

reuenge.

reuenge. But this policie was ouer weake for this purpoſe: for oathes are commonly ſpurned aſide, when they lye in the way, either to honour or reuenge: and if their vnited forces was much to be regarded, their ſeperate powers was not altogether to be contemned. Therefore the later princes of this Realme, haue with more ſafetie, wholy aboliſhed the vſe of abiuration and exile: and doe either by death extinguiſh the power, or by pardon alter the will of great offenders, from entring into deſperate and daungerous attempts: which men in miſerie and diſgrace, haue more vehemencie to begin, and more obſtinacie to continue. When the Samnites had once ſo encloſed the Romaine legions within certayne ſtreights, that they left them neither ſpace to fight, nor way to flie: but without force enforced them to yeelde: they ſent to *Herennius Pontius*, an aged ruler of their ſtate, for his aduiſe, what were beſt for them to doe: his anſwere was, that the Romaines ſhould be permitted to depart, without any hurt, loſſe, or ſcorne. This pleaſed not ſuch as were, eyther couetous for ſpoyle, or cruell for bloud: and therefore they ſent vnto him the ſecond time: who then returned anſwere, that the Romanes ſhould bee put to the ſworde, and not one man ſuffered to eſcape. The contrarietie of theſe two counſailes, brought the old man into ſuſpition of dotage: but he comming in perſon to the campe, maintained both to be good: the firſt whereof (which he thought beſt) would by vnexpected fauour, prouoke the Romanes to a perpetuall friendſhip: the ſecond would deferre the warres for many yeares, wherein the enemies ſhould hardly recouer ſtrength: third counſaile, there was none that ſafely might be followed. Yes (ſaid the Samnites) to graunt them their liues, yet with ſuch conditions of ſpoyle and ſhame, as the lawes of victorie doe lay vpon them. This is the way (anſwered *Herennius*) which neither winneth friends, nor weakeneth enemies: but will much encreaſe the fury againſt vs, & nothing diminiſh the force. And euen

ſo, in matters of more particularity, that courſe of puniſhment is out of courſe, which doth neither reclaime the mind of men, nor reſtraine the might from miſchieuous endeuours. But againe to our purpoſe.

The Duke of Norfolke, hauing now got a fall, where he thought to take his reſt, repented his enterpriſe, and vtterly condemned his light conceite of the Kings lightneſſe, and ſo with extreame griefe and anguiſh of minde, he departed out of the Realme into Almaine, and from thence trauelled to Venice; where through violence of thought and diſcontentment, in ſhort time he ended his dayes. This ſentence of baniſhment was giuen againſt him the ſame day of the yeere wherein the Duke of Glouceſter by his wicked meanes was ſtrangled to death at Calice.

The Duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the King at Eltham, who there ſtroke away foure yeres of his baniſhment, & euen offred himſelfe to be fawned vpon & thanked, for ſo odious a benefit. And this infortunate aduenture he neither bare out vainglorioufly, nor yet tooke impatiently: but in the midſt of his miſery, retained ſtill his reputation and honour; ſhewing no ſigne of ſorrow or ſubmiſnes in his countenance, nor letting fall any intemperate and vnſeemely word. The people as he departed, by heaps flocked about him, ſome to ſee, and ſome to ſalute him: lamenting his departure in ſuch ſort, as though their onely light and delight did then forſake them: not ſparing to exclaime, that it was againſt the law of armes, againſt the cuſtome of the Realme, and againſt all right whatſoeuer, that he ſhould be exiled, who had done his honourable endeuour for the maintenance of his appeale. This affection was the more exceſſiue, for that the duke was driuen into exile by occaſion of his liberall ſpeeches againſt the moſt hateful perſons in all the Realme: & being the onely noble man then aliue, of the popular faction, the loue was wholly accumulated vpon him, which was before deuided among the reſt. And thus the Duke leauing England, tooke

ſhipping

ſhipping, and paſſed the Seas to Calice, & from thence went into Fraunce: where hee was honourably entertained by *Charles* the French King, and found ſuch fauour, that hee ſhould haue taken to wife, the onely daughter of *Iohn* Duke Berrie, vnckle to the King of Fraunce, but King *Richards*, fearing the ſequel, if the fauor which was born to the Duke of Hereford within the Realme, ſhould be ſtrengthned with ſo great affinitie in Fraunce, caſt ſuch ſtops in the way, that the marriage did not proceede.

This yeare the Lawrell trees withered, almoſt throughout the Realme, and afterwardes againſt all expectation, recouered life & flouriſhed againe. The ſame yeare, in Chriſtmaſſe holy-daies, a deepe ryuer which runneth betweene Snedliſtorie and Hareſwood, neere to Bedford, ſuddainely ſtayed the ſtreame: ſo that for three miles in length, the channell was left drie, and no courſe of water did hinder paſſage on foot. This was afterwards interpreted to preſage, the reuolt of the people, & the diuiſion which happened the yeare following: to theſe we may adde certaine other prodegies, either forged in that fabulous age, or happening commonly and of courſe, are then onely noted, when any notable accident doth enſue. When *K. Richard* brought his firſt wife out of Beame, ſhe had no ſooner ſet foote within this land, but ſuch a tempeſt did forthwith ariſe, as had not bene ſeene many yeares before: whereby diuers ſhips within the hauen were quaſhed to peeces, but eſpecially, and firſt of all, the ſhip wherein the Queene was carried, this was the rather obſerued, becauſe ſuch ſtiffe ſtormes were likewiſe ſtirring: when the king brought his ſecond wife out of France: wherin many ſhips periſhed, & a great part of the Kings fardage was loſt. At Newcaſtle vpon Tine, as two ſhipwrites were ſquaring a piece of Timber, whereſoeuer they hewed, bloud iſſued forth in great aboundance. At one of the Kings palaces, flies ſwarmed ſo thicke, that they obſcured the ayre: theſe fought together moſt fiercely, ſo that ſackfuls lay dead

vpon the ground, and this continued so long, that scarce the third part of them (as it was thought) remained aliue, many like accidents are recorded of that time; but I will maintaine neither the truth of them, nor what they did pretend: being a matter wherein most men are rather superstitious, then not credulous, and doe oftentimes repute common occurrences to be ominous, when any strange euent doth ensue. Yet as I am loath to auouch any vaine and trifling matter, so dare I not detract all truth frō things anciently reported; although donein an age wherein was some delight in lying, many do suppose, that those things which are fatally allotted, though they neuer be auoided, yet sometimes are foreshewen: not so much that we may preuent them, as that wee should prepare our selues against them.

In the two and twenty yeare of the raigne of K. *Richard*, *Iohn* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster died, and was buried, on the north-side of the high alter, of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule in London, hee was a man aduised and warie in his passages of life, liking better safe courses with reason, then happy by chaunce: of his owne glory, he was neither negligent, nor ambitiously careful: towards the King hee caried himselfe in tearms honourable inough for a moderat prince, and yet not so plausible as a vaine man would desire; whereby there neuer happened to him any extraordinary matter, either in preiudice, or preferment. After his death, the Duchy of Lancaster did in right deuolue to the Duke of Hereforde, his eldest son: but the King (as the nature of man is inclinable, to hate those whome hee hath harmed) seazed all the landes and goodes which appertained to the Duke of Lancaster, into his owne handes; and determined to perpetuate the banishment of Duke *Henry* his sonne: reuoking the letters pattēts, which were graunted to him at his departure: whereby his generall atturneis were enabled to prosecute his causes and sue liuerie of any inheritance; which during his exile, might fall vnto him, his homage being respited for

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a reasonable fine. The king supposed his estate more safe, by the weakenesse and want of the Duke, whome he had nowe in some iealousie and doubte: but these violent dealinges were meanes rather to prouoake his mischiefes, then to preuent them; for by iniurious suppressing of the Dukes greatnesse, he greatly augmented the same.

Edmund Duke of Yorke, the Kings onely vncle which remained aliue, had hetherto enforced his patience, to endure many things against his liking: but nowe either in disdaine of this indignity, or in distrust both of his owne safety, & of the common tranquillity of the realme, hee retired himselfe with the Duke of Aumerle his son, to his house at Langley: supposing priuatnes to bee the best defence, both from danger and blame, where neither the King had iudgement to discerne, nor any about him had, either heart or honesty to admonish what was done amisse; where an honourable fame was held suspected, and a good life more in hazard thé a bad: protesting that none of these practises, were either deuised by his counsaile, or done by his consent.

At this time, the whole frame of the state was much shaken, and matters of great weight and moment, did hang by a very slender thred. The King was plunged in pleasure and sloath: after whose example, others also (as men doe commonly conforme their mindes according to the princes disposition) gaue ouer themselues to dilicacie and ease: whereby cowardise crept in, and shipwracke was made, both of manhood and glorie. The chiefest affaires of state, had bene ordered for a long time, according to priuate respects, wherby the common-wealth lost both the fatte, and the fauour, and seemed not at seasons and by degrees, but with a maine course, and at once to ruinate and fall. The north parts were many times canuased, and by small, yet often losses, almost consumed by the Scots: who had there taken many townes and castles, and defaced all the countrey with slaughter and spoile. Likewise the south partes were often-times wasted

by the Frenchmen: and in Fraunce many ſtrong holds were loſt. It was alſo conſtantly affirmed, that the King made agreement to deliuer vnto the King of Fraunce, the poſſeſſion of Calice, and of other townes which hee helde in thoſe parts; but the performance thereof was reſiſted by the lords whether this were true or ſurmiſed probably, as agreeable to the Kings looſe gouernment, I cannot certainely affirme. As for Ireland, which in the time of K. *Edward* the third was kept in order and awe, by acquainting the people with religion and ciuility, and drawing them to delight in the plenty and pleaſures of well reclaymed countries; whereby it yelded to the kings coffers, thirty thouſand pounds euery yere: it was then ſuffered to runne into waſte, and the people by rudeneſſe became intractible: ſo that the houlding thereof charged the King, with the yearely diſpence of thirty thouſand markes. Many ſuccours had beene ſent into theſe ſeuerall countries; but ſcatteringly, and dropping, and neuer ſo many at once, as to furniſh the warres fully. The King made ſome expeditions in his owne perſon, with greate preparation and charge: but beeing once out of credite, whatſoeuer fell out well, was attributed to others; miſfortunes were imputed onely to him. If any thing were happily atchieued by ſome of the nobility, it was by the kings baſe hearted paraſites, to whom millitary vertue was altogether vnpleaſant ſo extinuated, or deprawed, or enuied, that it was ſeldome rewarded, ſo much as with countenance and thankes: yea ſometimes it procured ſuſpicion and danger; the King being informed by a cunning kinde of enemies, commenders, that to be a diſcreet and valiant commander in the fielde, was a vertue peculiar to a Prince: and that it was a perillous point, to haue the name of a man of priuate eſtate, famous for the ſame in euery mans mouth. Hereupon, fewe ſought to riſe by vertu and valure, the readier way was, to pleaſe the pleaſant humour of the Prince. Likewiſe matters of peace, were managed by men of weakeſt ſufficiency, by whoſe counſell either

either ignorant or corrupt, the deſtruction of the beſt harted nobility, was many times attempted, & at the laſt wrought. The profits and reuenues of the crowne were ſaid to bee let to farme, the King making himſelfe landlord of his realme, and challenging no great priuiledge by his reigne, but onely a diſſolute and vncontrouled life. Great ſummes of mony were yearly, rather exacted from the ſubiects, then by them voluntarily graunted: whereof no good did enſue, but the maintenance of the Kings priuate delightes, & the aduancement of his hatefull fauorites. To theſe he was ſomewhat aboue his power liberall: for which cauſe, he was faine to borrow, begge, and extort in other places: but he purchaſed not ſo much loue by the one, as hate by the other. Beſides the ordinary tearmes of tenthes and fiftenthes, which were many times paid double in one yeare, diuers newe impoſitions were by him deuiſed & put in vſe: ſometimes exacting xii. d. of euery perſon throughout the realme: ſometimes of euery religious man and woman vi. s. viii. d. and of euery ſecular prieſt aſmuch, and of euerie lay perſon maried or ſole, xii. d. Vnder the fauourable tearme of beneuolence, hee wiped away from the people ſuch heapes of money, as were litle anſwerable to that free and friendly name. He borrowed in all places of the realme great ſummes of money vpon his priuy ſeales, ſo that no man of worth could eſcape his loane: but he ſeldome, and to fewe, returned payment againe.

This preſent yeare, he ſent certaine Biſhops, and other perſonages of honor, to all the ſhires and corporations within the realme, to declare vnto the people the Kings heauie diſpleaſure againſt them, for that they had bin abetters and complices of the Duke of Gloucester, and of the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke: and that the King was minded to make a roade vpon them, as common enemies, excepte they would acknowledge their offence, and ſubmit themſelues to his mercie and grace. Hereupon, all the men of worth in euery ſhire and Towne corporate, made their ac-

knowledgment & ſubmiſſion in writing vnder their ſeales; & after wardes were faine to graunt vnto the King, ſuch importable ſummes of money, to purchaſe againe his fauour, as the land being already greatly impouerniſhed, they were hardly able to endure. Then were exacted of thē ſtrange & vnaccuſtomed oathes, which were put likewiſe in writing, vnder their ſeales. They were alſo cōpelled to ſet their hands and ſeales to blancke chartes; wherein the King might afterwardes cauſe to be written what he would; ſo that all the wealth of the realme was in a manner at his deuotion and pleaſure. Theſe and ſuch like violences, were far wide from the moderate gouernement of *K. Henrie* the ſecond: whoe maintaining great warres, and obteyning a larger dominion, then perteyned at any other time to this realme of England, neuer demaunded ſubſidie of his ſubiectes: and yet his treaſure after his death, was founde to be nine hundred thouſand poundes, beſides his Iewels, and his plate.

In this ſort the King bearing a heauie hand vpon his ſubiects, and they againe a heauie hart againſt him, and being withall a Prince weake in action, and not of valure ſufficient to beare out his vices by might, the people at length reſolued to reuolt, and rather to runne into the hazard of a ruinous rebellion, then to endure ſafetie ioyned with ſtauerie: ſo they attended occaſion, which ſhortly after was thus offered. The King receiued letters of aduertiſement out of Ireland (which being priuiledged from other venimous beaſts hath alwaies beene peſtered with traytors) how the Barbarous Iriſh had cut in pieces his garriſon, and ſlaine *Roger Mortimer* Earle of Marſh, (who had beene declared heire apparent to the Crowne) exerciſing all the crueltie in waſting of the country, which wrath and rage of victorie could incite a Barbarous people to practiſe. This loſſe being great in it ſelfe, the hard affection of the people did much augmēt by report: wherupon the King deliberated, whether it were requiſite that hee ſhould vnder-take the warre in perſon, or commit

commit it to cõmanders of lower degree? Some perſwaded him, that wholly to ſubdue Irelande, ſtood neither with pollicie, nor yet almoſt with poſſibilitie: for if it were fully and quietly poſſeſſed, ſome gouernour might hap to growe to that greatneſſe, as to make himſelfe abſolute Lord thereof, and therfore it was better to hold it certaine by weake enemies, then ſuſpected by mightie friendes, and yet by what meanes ſhould thoſe bogges & thoſe woods bee ouercome, which are more impregnable, then the walled Townes of other countries? Then if the purpoſe were, onely to repreſſe the ſauage people, the war was of no ſuch weight, as ſhould draw the King to ſtand in the fielde: and therefore he might ſtay in the weſt partes of England, and from thence make ſhew of the princely puiſſance and ſtate; neither venturing his perſon without cauſe, and ready at hand if neede ſhould require. Others were of opinion, that to ſubdue and replenish Ireland, was a matter neither of difficultie nor daunger: but both profitable and honourable to the King, and to God very acceptable. For if credite might bee giuen to auncient hiſtories, this realme of England was once as inſuperable with bogs and woods, as Ireland was then: but the Romane conquerors kept not their preſidiarie Souldiers in idle garriſon, whereby many times the minde grew mutinous, and the body diſeaſed, and both vnable for the labour and hardneſſe of the field: but they held as well them, as the ſubdued Britaines continually exerciſed, either in building of townes in places of beſt aduãtage, or in making of high waies: or elſe in drayning and pauing of bogs: by which meanes the countrie was made fruitfull and habitable, and the people learned the good maners, not rudely to repulſe the flattering aſſaules of pleaſure; preferring ſubiection with plentie, before beggerly and miſerable libertie. That the ſame Romaines alſo kept many larger countries in quiet obedience, (ſo long as they were quiet among themſelues) without either feare or danger of any gouernours: firſt by deuiding them into ſmal

prouinces: Secondly by constituting in euery prouince diuers officers, as Lieutenants and procurators, whereof one was able to restraine the other; the first hauing power ouer the bodies of the subiects, the second ouer their goods: thirdly, by changing these officers euery yeare; which was too short a time to establish a soueraigntie: Lastly, by retaining at Rome, their wiues and children, and whole priuate estate, as pledges for their true demeanure. That the daunger was rather to be feared, least a weake enemie whilest hee was contemned, should gather strength and be able to stand vpon termes of withstanding: example hereof, happened whē the Romaines ouercame this Iland; for many Britanes who vpon no cōditions would abide bōdage, withdrew thēselues into the Northparts of the land, & by maintaining their auncient custome of painting their bodies, were called of the Romanes, *Pictis*: these were neglected a long time, and held in scorne, as neither of force, nor of number to bee thought worthy the name of enemies: but afterwards they confederated themselues with other people, and so sharply assaulted the subdued Britaines, that being vnable to resist, & the Romanes shrincking from thē, they were constrained to desire helpe of the Saxons: and so betweene their enemies & their aides (being set as it were betwixt the beetle and the block) they lost the possession of the best part of their land. That it was a pittifull pollicy for assurance of peace, to lay all waste as a wildernes, and to haue dominion ouer trees and beasts, and not ouer men. That hereby the King did loose the reuenue of a fruitfull countrie, & the benefit of wealthy subiects, which are the surest treasure that a Prince can haue. That hereby also the maiesty of his estate was much impaired: for (as Salomō saith) *The honor of a king cōsisteth in the multitude of subiectes.* That the country being vnfurnished of people, was open to al opportunity of forraine enemies. That if none of these respects would moue: yet the King was bounde in duty, to reduce these sauages to the true worshippe of God,

who

who did then either prophanely contemne him, or ſuperſtitiouſly ſerue him.

Theſe reaſons ſo weighed with the King, that he gathered a mightie armie, determining to goe in perſon into Ireland, & to pacifie the country before his returne: but al his prouiſion was at the charge of the ſubiects: and wheras in time of ſedition, a wiſe Prince will leaſt grieue his people. As ſeeming to ſtand in ſome ſort at their curteſie, & hauing to imploy their bodies beſide; the King in peace no ſtoarer for war, was forced to offend, when hee ſhould haue bene moſt carefull to win fauour. So about Whitſontide, he ſet forth on his voyage with many men, and ſewe ſouldiours; being a diſſolute and vntrained company, and out of all compaſſe of obedience, hee caried with him his whole treaſure, and all the goods and auncient Iewels appertaining to the crowne. In his company went the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exceter, and diuers other noble men, and many Biſhops, and the Abbot of Weſtminſter. He alſo tooke with him the ſonnes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Duke of Hereford; whoſe fauourours he chiefly feared.

When hee came to Briſtowe, hee was put into ſuſpicion, (whether vpon ſome likelyhood, or meere mallice) that *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland and certaine others, entended ſome diſloyall enterprize againſt him: and for that cauſe did not follow him into Ireland, but had faſtned friendſhip with the King of Scots, vpon purpoſe to retire thēſelues into his country, if their attempts ſhould faile. Hereupon the king ſent meſſage that the Earle ſhould forthwith come vnto him with all the power that hee could conueniently make. The Earle returned anſwere, that it was vnneceſſary in reſpect of that ſeruice, to draw men from ſuch diſtant places; for the Iriſh rebels were neither ſo many nor ſo mighty, but the King had ſtrength at hand ſufficient to ſuppreſſe them: that it was alſo daungerous to diſfurniſh the North-parts of their forces, and to offer opportunity to the Scottiſh borderers,

rers, who were alwayes vncertaine friends in their extremities, and assured enemies vpon aduantage. The King seeing his commaundement in these termes both contemned and controulled, would not stand to reason the matter with the Earle, neither had he the reason to defer reuenge vntill hee had full power to worke it: but presently in the violence of his fury, caused the Earle and his confederates to be proclaimed traitors, and all their lands and goods to be seized to his vse. The Earle tooke grieuously this disgrace, and determined to cure & close vp his harme with the disturbance of the common state. And thus the King hauing feathered these arrowes against his owne breast, passed foorth in his iourney into Ireland.

This expedition at the first proceeded and succeeded exceedingly well, and the king obtained many victories, euen without battell, as leading his men to a slaughter rather then to a fight: for the sauage Irish were not vnder one gouernement, but were deuided into many partialities and factions, and seldome did two or three parts ioyne their common strength and study together; so whileſt one by one did fight, all of them were either subdued or slaine. But these newes little reioyced the common people, they lusted not to listen thereto: their common talke was to recount their common grieuances, to lay them together, & aggrauate them by construction: euery man more abounding in complaints then he did in miseries. Also the noblemen (the principall obiect of cruelty) began to discourse both their priuate dangers, & the deformities of the state: and vpon opportunity of the Kings absence, some of them did conspire to cut off that authority which would not be confined, & to cast it vpon some other, who was most like to repaire that which *K. Richard* had ruined: or if (sayde they) our power shall come short of so good a purpose, yet wil we sell him both our liues & lands with glory in the field, which with certainty in peace we can not enioy. The onely man vpon whom all men resolued, was

Henrie

Henry duke of Hereford (whom since the death of his father they called duke of Lancaster) not at his own motion or desire, but because he was generally esteemed meet: as being of the royall bloud, and next by discent frō males to the succession of the crowne: one that had made honourable proofe of his vertues and valure: the onely man of note that remained aliue, of those that before had stood in armes against the King, for the behoofe of the Common-wealth: for which cause he was deeply touched at that time both in honour & in state. This attempt pleased as possible to proue, and of necessity to be followed: whereupon they secretly dispatched their letters to the Duke, solliciting his speedy returne into England, & declaring that aswell for the benefit of the realm, as for their owne particular safety; they were forced to vse force against King *Richard*: that if it would please him to make the head, they would furnish him the body of an able army, to expell the King from his vnfortunate gouernement, and to settle the possession of the Crowne in him, who was more apt and able to sustaine the same: that they would not prouide him a base multitude only, & they themselues helpe in bare wishes & aduise, but would also adioyne their hands and their liues; so that the peril should be common to all, the glory only his, if fortune fauored the enterprise. These letters were conueyed by men crafty and bolde, yet of sure credit, and inward in trust with the Duke: who passing into France, first associated vnto the *Thomas Arundell* late Archbishop of Canterburie, & at that time (whether deseruedly or without cause) an exile in France: then they trauailed by seuerall waies, and in counterfeit attire to Paris, where all met at the house of one Chigney, where the Duke also sojourned. After some courtesies of course, with welcome on the one side, & thanks on the other, and loy of both: the Archbishop of Canterburie hauing obtained of the Duke priuacie and silence, made vnto him a solemne oration in these words, or to this sence following.

We are ſent vnto you (right high and noble Prince) from the chiefe Lords and ſtates of our land, not to ſeeke reuenge againſt our King vpon priuate iniury and diſpleaſure: nor vpon a deſperate diſcontentment to ſet the ſtate on fire: nor to procure the ambitious aduancement of any perticular perſon: but to open vnto you the deformities and decaies of our broken eſtate, and to deſire your aide, in ſtaying the ruinous downfall of the ſame. The remembrance of the honourable reputation that our countrie hath borne, and the noble actes which it hath atchiued, doth nothing els, but make the baſenes more bitter vnto vs, wherinto it is new fallen. Our victorious armes haue heretofore bene famous and memorable, not onely within the bownds of our Ocean ſea, and in the Ilands adioyning vnto vs; but alſo in France, in Spaine, and in other parts of Europe, yea in Aſia and in Affricke, againſt the Infidels and Barbarians: ſo that all Chriſtian Princes haue bene either glad to imbrace our friendſhip, or loath to prouoke vs to hoſtility. But nowe the rude Scots, whoſe ſpirits we haue ſo many times broken, and brought on their knees, doe ſcornfully inſult vppon vs: the naked and fugitiue Iriſh, haue ſhaken of our ſhackles, and glutted themſelues vppon vs, with maſſachres & ſpoiles: with theſe we dayly fight, not for glory, but to liue: inſomuch as we are become a pitty to our friends, and a verie ieaſt to our moſt baſe and contemptible enemies. In deed the King hath both ſent and led great armies into theſe countries, but in ſuch ſort, that they haue much waſted the realme with their maintenance; but neither reuenged nor relieued it with their armes: and no meruaile, for all our diligent and diſcreete leaders (the verie ſinewes of the field) are either put to death, or baniſhed, or els lie buried in obſcurity and diſgrace: and the marſhalling of all affaires is committed (without any reſpect of ſufficiency or deſert) to the counſaile & conduct of thoſe, who can beſt apply themſelues to the King, youthfull delightes. Among theſe, auncient nobility is accompted a vaine ieaſt, wealth,

and

and vertue are the ready meanes to bring to deſtruction.

It grieues me to ſpeake, but it helpeth not, to hide that which euery man ſeeth: our auncestors liued in the higheſt pitch and perfection of libertie; but we of ſeruilitie, being in the nature, not of ſubiectes, but of abiectes, and flat ſlaues; not to one intractable Prince onely, but to many proude & diſdainefull fauorites; not alwaies the ſame, but euer new; & no ſooner haue we ſatisfied ſome, but freſh hungrie maſters are ſtraight waies ſet vpon vs, who haue more endamaged vs by extortion & bribes, then the enemy hath done by the ſword. What vnuſuall kindes of exactions are dayly put in practiſe? without either meſure or end, and oftentimes without need: or if any be, it proceedeth rather vpon ryotus expenſes, then any neceſſary or honourable charge: and great ſummes of money are pulled and pilled from good ſubiects, to be throwne away amongſt vnprofitable vnthrifts. And if any man openeth his mouth againſt theſe extorted taxations, then either by feined imputatiō of capital crimes, or by ſmal matters aggrauated, or elſe by open crueltie and force, his life or liberty is forthwith hazarded. It were to tedious, too odious, too friuolus to put you in mind of particular examples, as though your owne eſtate, & the lamentable loſſe of your vncle, & other noble friends, could be forgotten: yea I ſuppoſe that there is no man of qualitie within the Realme, who either in his owne perſon, or in his neereſt friends, doth not plainly perceiue, that no man enioyeth the ſafegard of his goods, and ſuerty of his body; but rich men in the one, & great men in the other are continually endaungered. This then is our caſe; but what is our remedy? we haue endured, & we haue entreated: but our pacience hath drawne no more heauie burthens, and our complaints procured more bitter blowes: by the one our liuings, & our liues by the other are daily deuoured. And therfore we are now cōpelled to ſhake off our ſhoulders this importable yoke, & ſubmit our ſelues to the ſoueraigntie of ſome more moderate & worthy per-

ſon not ſo much for the griefe of our miſeries which are paſt nor for the paine of our preſent diſtreſſes, as for feare of ſuch daungers as are moſt like to enſue, for the King hath cut away the chiefe of the nobilitie, and the commons hee hath pared to the quicke, and ſtill hee harrieth vs as a conquered countrie: whereby we are layd bare to the brauocke of al our enemies, & vtterly diſabled, not only to recouer that which is loſt, but alſo to retain euen that which is left. But towhom ſhould we complaine? what ſuccour, whoſe ayde ſhould we deſire? you are the onely man, who in right ſhould, and in wiſedome can, and in goodneſſe will (we hope) relieue vs. For you are neereſt to the King in bloud, and therfore ought to haue the rule of that which his weakneſſe cannot wield. Your yeares are wel ſtaied from the light conceits of youth, and ſo ſpent, that all your actions haue made proofe of abilitie in gouernment of greateſt charge: nothing paſt, needeth excuſe, and feare is vaine for any thing to come. The paines and perils which heretofore you haue vndertaken for the benefite of your countrie, putteth vs alſo in good hope, that in theſe extremities you will not forſake vs: wee are all as in a ſhip that is ready to ſink, as in a houſe that is ready to fal, & doe moſt humbly craue and call for your helpe; now or elſe neuer ſhew your ſelfe in fauour of your countrymen, to free vs, to free your ſelfe, to free the whole ſtate from theſe dangers and decayes, by taking into your hands the ſcepter and diademe of the Realme, and reducing againe the gouernement there of to a princely freedome; in combining the ſouereignty of one, with the libertie of al. Omit not this occaſion to ſet forth to the view of the world, as in a large field, & at free ſcope your vertue and courage, by relieuing miſerable wretches from their oppreſſors: which action hath been ſo highly honoured, that many heathen men for the ſame, haue beene accompted as Gods. This we are conſtrained to offer and entreate: this is both honorable for you to accept, and eaſie to be performed: and ſo much the more, in that no

Princes

Prince, by any people haue bene desired with greater affection, nor shall be with more dutie obeyed.

The Duke entertained this speach, with great moderation of mind, shewing himselfe neither disturbed thereat, nor excessiue in ioy. His answere concerning the King, was respectiue and wel tempered; rather lamenting his weakenes then blaming his malice. Concerning himselfe hee spake so modestly, that he seemed rather worthy of a kingdome, then desirous. The life (quoth he) which hitherto I haue led, hath alwaies bene free from ambitious attempts: and the stayednesse of my yeares, hath now setled my mind from aspiring thoughts: and experience of former dangers hath bred in me a warie regard in such weightie proceedings, for to call a King out of state, is an enterprise not hastely to be resolued vpon, nor easily effected: but suppose that matter not impossible, and perhaps not hard, yet the rarenesse of the like precedents, will make the action seeme injurious to most men: and he that shall attaine a kingdome vpon opinion of desert, doth charge himselfe with great expectation, and how honourably soeuer hee carrie himselfe, shall neuer want his deadly enuiers: besides this, in ciuill dissentions the faith of the whole people is fleeting, and daunger is to be doubted from euery particular person: so that it is possible that al may fall away, and impossible to beware of euery one. Therefore I could rather wish, to spend the course of my yeares which yet remaine, in this obscure, yet safe and certaine state, then to thrust my selfe vpon the pikes of those perils, which being once entred into, are daungerous to follow, & deadly to forsake: for in priuate attempts, a man may step and stope when he please: but he that aymeth at a kingdome, hath no middle course betweene the life of a prince, & the death of a traytor.

The Archbishop hearing this, did as vainely persist in importuning the duke, as he vainely seemed vnwilling & straige. The state (sayd he) wherin now you stand, is not so safe and certaine as you doe conceiue. Indeed, by reiecting our re-

queſt you ſhal auoid certaine dignity, and therewith vncertaine & contingent dangers; but you ſhal procure moſt certaine deſtruction both to your ſelfe and vs. For this ſecret cannot be kept long ſecret from the king: and euen good princes are nice in points of ſoueraignty, & beare a nimble eare to the touch of that ſtring: and it more hurteth a ſubiect to be eſteemed worthy of the kingdome, then it will profit him to haue refuſed the offer. What then will he do, who putteth the chiefeſt ſurety of his reigne in the baſeneſſe & bareneſſe of his ſubiects? whoſe head being poſſeſſed with eternall ielouſy, maketh euery preſumption a proofe, and euery light ſurmiſe a ſtrong ſuſpition againſt them. Surely ſince the generall fauour & loue which the people beareth you, hath bereaued you of your liberty, this their generall deſire will not leaue your life vntouched. As for vs, if we either faint in our intent, or faile in the enterpriſe, *actum eſt:* we ſhalbe as lambs among lions: and no conqueſt can be ſo cruell as the Kings reigne will be ouer vs. Certainely we haue gone too far, for to go backe; and the time is paſt, when you for ambition, & we for enuy might ſeeme to attempt againſt the King: the attainment of the kingdome muſt now be a ſanctuary & refuge for vs both. The like examples are not rare (as you affirme) nor long ſince put in practiſe, nor far hence to be fetched. The kings of Denmarke and of Sweueland, are oftentimes baniſhed by their ſubiects; often times impriſoned & put to their fine. The princes of Germany, about an hundred yeres paſt, depoſed *Adulphus* the Emperour: and are now in hand to depoſe their emperor *Wenceſlaus*. The earle of Flanders was a while ſince driuen out of his Dominion by his owne people, for vſurping greater power then appertained to his eſtate. The auncient Britaines chaſed away their owne King *Carecious*, for the lewdneſſe of his life, and cruelty of his rule. In the time of the Saxon *Heptarchie*, *Bernredus* King of *Mercia*, for his pride and ſtoutnes towardes his people, was by them depoſed. Likewiſe *Aldredus & Ethelbertus*

two Kinges of Northumberland, were for their diſorders expelled by their ſubiects. Since the victorie of the Normaines, the Lords endeauoured to expell King *Henry* the third, but they were not able: yet were they able to depoſe King *Edward* the ſecond, and to conſtitute his young ſonne *Edward* King in his ſteade: theſe are not all, and yet enough to cleare this action of rareneſſe in other countries; & noueltie in our. The difficulty indeede is ſomewhat, becauſe the excellencie is great: but they that are affraide of euery buſh, ſhall neuer take the bird: & your ſelfe had once ſome triall hereof, when without battaile, without bloud or blows, you had the King at ſuch a life, as he held his Crowne at your courteſie, euen at that time when his grieuances were, neither for greatnes nor continuance, ſo intollerable as now they are growne: and by reaſon of his tender yeres, not out of all compaſſe, both of excuſe for the fault, and of hope for an amendment. And as concerning the lawfulneſſe.

Nay (ſayd the Duke) where neceſſity doth enforce, it is ſuperfluous to vſe ſpeach, either of eaſineſſe, or of lawfulneſſe: neceſſitie will beate thorow braſen Walles; and can be limited by no lawes. I haue felt verie deeply my part in theſe calamities, and I would you knew with what griefe I haue beheld your: for what other reward haue I receiued, of all my trauailes and ſeruices, but the death of my vncle and deareſt friends, my owne baniſhment, the impriſonment of my children, and loſſe of my inheritance? and what haue beene returned to you, for your bloud ſo often ſhed in his vnfortunate warres, but continuall tributes, ſcourges, gallowes, and ſlauerie? I haue made ſufficient proofe, both of pacience in my owne miſeries, and of pittie in your: remedy them hither to I could not: If now I can, I will not refuſe to ſuſtain that part, which your importunitie doth impoſe vpon me, if we preuaile, we ſhall recouer againe our libertie: if wee looſe, our ſtate ſhall be no worſe thē now it is: and ſince we muſt needs periſh, either deſeruingly, or without cauſe, it is more hono-

rable to put our ſelues vpon the aduenture eyther to winne our liues, or to dye for deſerte: and although our liues were ſafe, which in deede are not, yet to abandon the ſtate, and ſleepe ſtill in this ſlauerie; were a poynt of negligence and ſloath. It remaineth then, that we vſe both ſecrecie and celeritie, laying hold vpon the oportunitie which the Kings abſence hath now preſented vnto vs: for in al enterpriſes which neuer are commended before they bee atchieued, delayes are daungerous; and more ſafe it is to be founde in action, then in counſaile: for they that deliberate onely to rebell, haue rebelled already.

So the meſſengers departed into England, to declare the Dukes acceptance, and to make preparation againſt his arriuall, both of armour, and of ſubiection, and deſire to obey. Preſently after their departure, the Duke ſignified to *Charles* king of Fraunce, that he had a deſire to goe into Brittaine, to viſite *Iohn* Duke of Brittaine, his friend and kinſman. The King ſuſpecting no further fetch, ſent letters of commendation in his fauour, to the Duke of Brittaine: but if he had ſurmiſed any dangerous drift againſt King *Richard*, who not long before, had taken his daughter to wife; inſtead of letters of ſafe-conducte, he would haue founde lettes to haue kept him ſafe from diſturbing his ſonne in lawes eſtate.

Aſſoone as the Duke was come into Brittaine, he waged certaine ſouldiours, and preſently departed to Calice, and ſo committed to ſea for England; giuing forth, that the onely cauſe of his voyage, was to recouer the Duchie of Lancha-ſter, and the reſt of his lawfull inheritance, which the King wrongfully deteyned from him. In his companie was *Thomas Arundell* the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and *Thomas* the ſonne & heire of *Richard* late earle of Arundell, who was very yong, and had a little before eſcaped out of priſon, and fled into France to the Duke. The reſidue of his attendants were very few, not exceeding the number of fifteen lances: ſo that it is hard to eſteeme whether it was greater maruaile, either

either that he durſt attempt, or that he did preuaile with ſo ſmal a company: but his chiefeſt cõfidence was in the fauour & aſſiſtance of the people within the realme. So he did beare with England, yet not in a ſtreight courſe, but floated along the ſhoare, making head ſometimes to one coaſt, and ſometimes to another, to diſcouer what forces were in a readines, either to reſiſt or to receiue him.

As he was in this ſort houering on the ſeas, L. *Edmund* duke of Yorke, the kings vncle, to whom the king had cõmitted the cuſtody of the Realme during the time of his abſence, called vnto him *Edmũd Stafford* biſhop of Chicheſter, L. Chancellour, & *W. Scrõpe* earle of Wiltſhire, L. Treaſurour of the Realme, alſo, Sir *Iohn Buſhie*, Sir *Henry Greene*, Sir *William Bager*, Sir *Iohn Ruſſell*, and certain others of the kings Priuy councell; and entred into deliberation what was beſt to be done. At the laſt it was concluded, deceitfully by ſome, vnskilfully by others, and by all perniciouſly for the king, to leaue the ſea coaſts, and to leaue London, the very walles & caſtle of the Realme, and to goe to *S. Albons*, there to gather ſtrength ſufficient to encounter with the duke. It is moſt certaine that the dukes ſide was not any wayes more furthered, then by this diſſembling and deceiuable dealing: for open hoſtility and armes, may openly and by armes be reſiſted: but priuy practiſes, as they are hardly eſpied, ſo are they ſeldome auoided. And thus by this meanes the duke landed about the feaſt of *Saint Martin*, without let or reſiſtance, at Rauenſpur in Houlderneſſe, as moſt writers affirme.

Preſently after his arriual, there reſorted to him Lord *Henry Pearcie* Earle of Northumberland, and Lord *Henry* his ſon Earle of Weſtmerland, Lorde *Radulph Neuill*, Lorde *Roſe*, Lord *Willoughby*, & many other perſonages of honor, whoſe compony encreaſed reputation to the cauſe, and was a great countenance and ſtrength to the Dukes further purpoſes. And firſt they tooke of him an oath, that hee ſhould neither procure nor permit any bodily harme to be done vnto King

Richard; whereupon they bound themſelues vpon their honours to proſecute all extremities againſt his miſchieuous counſailers. And this was one ſtep further then that which the Duke pretended at the firſt, when hee tooke ſhipping at Callice, which was only the recouery of his inheritance: but that was as yet not determined, nor treated, and of ſome perhaps not thought vpon; which afterwardes it did enſue: and ſo was that place eaſily inſinuated into by degrees, which with maine and direct violence would hardlier haue bin obtained. Then the common people deſperate vpon newe deſires, and without head, head-long to matters of innouation, flocked very faſt to theſe noble men, the better ſort for loue to the common-wealth, ſome vpon a wanton leuity, and vaine deſire of change, others in regard of their owne diſtreſſed and decayed eſtate, who ſetting their chiefe hopes and deuiſes vppon a generall diſturbance, were then moſt ſafe when the common ſtate was moſt vnſure. So betweene the one and the other, the multitude did in ſhort time increaſe to the number of thereſcore thouſand able ſouldiers.

The Duke finding this fauour not onely to exceede his expectation, but euen aboue his wiſh, he thought it beſt to followe the current whilſt the ſtreame was moſt ſtrong, knowing right well, that if fortune be followed, as the firſt doe fal out, the reſt will commonly ſucceede. Therefore cutting of vnneceſſary delaies, with all poſſible celerity he haſtned towardes London: to the end that poſſeſſing himſelfe thereof as the chiefe place within the realme, both for ſtrength and ſtore, he might there make the ſeat of the warre. In this iourney no ſigne nor ſhew of hoſtility appeared, but all the way as he paſſed, the men of chiefeſt quallity and power adioyned themſelues vnto him, ſome vpon heat of affection, ſome for feare, others vpon hope of reward after victorie; euerie one vpon cauſes diſlike, with like ardent deſire contending, leaſt any ſhould ſeeme more foreward then they: In euerie place alſo where he made ſtay, rich gifts and pleaſant deuiſes

ſes were preſented vnto him, with large ſupply both of force and prouiſion: far aboue his neede: and the common people which for their greatneſſe take no care of publique affaires, and are in leaſt daunger by reaſon of their baſenes, with ſhoutes and acclamations gaue their applauſe; extolling the Duke, as the onely man of courage, and ſaluting him King; but ſpending many contumelious tearmes vpon King *Richard*, and deprauing him, as a ſimple and ſluggiſh man, a daſtard, a meycocke, and one altogether vnworthy to beare rule; ſhewing themſelues as much without reaſon in rayling vpon the one, as they were in flattering the other. Againe, the Duke for his part was not negligent to vncouer the head to bowe the body, to ſtretch forth the hand to euery meane perſon, and to vſe all other complements of popular behauiour, where with the mindes of the common multitude are much delighted and drawen; taking that to bee courteſie, which the ſeuerer ſort accompt abaſement. When he came to the citty, he was there likewiſe very richly and royally entertained, with proceſſions and pageants, and diuers other triumphant deuiſes & ſhews; the ſtandings in all the ſtreets, where he paſſed were taken vp to behold him; and the vnable multitude, who otherwiſe could not, yet by their good wordes, wiſhes, and wils, did teſtify vnto him their louing affections: neither did there appeare in any man at that time, any memory of faith and alleagiance towards King *Richard*, but (as in ſeditions it alwayes hapneth) as the moſt ſwayed al did goe.

On the contrarie ſide, the Duke of Yorke with the reſt of his counſaile, fell to muſtering of men at *S. Albones*, for the King: but as the people out of diuers quarters were called thither, many of the proteſted, that they would doe nothing to the harme and preiudice of the Duke of Lancaſter, who they ſaid was vniuſtly expelled, firſt from his country, and afterwardes from his inheritance. Then *W. Scroupe* Earle of Wiltſhire L. Treaſorer, Sir *I. Buſh*, Sir *W. Bagot*, and Sir *Henrie*

rie Greene, perceiuing the ſtiffe reſolution of the people forſooke the duke of Yorke, and the L. Chancellor, and fled towards Briſtow, intending to paſſe the ſeas into Ireland to the king. Theſe foure were they vpon whom the common fame went, that they had taken of the king his realm to farme: who were ſo odious vnto the people, that their preſence turned away the hearts of many ſubiects; yea it was thought, that more for diſpleaſure againſt them, then againſt the king, the reuoult was made. For being the only men of credit and authority with the King, vnder falſe colour of obedience they wholy gouerned both the realme & him; to many miſchiefs corrupting his mind, & in many abuſing his name, either againſt his will, or without his knowledge, inſomuch as hee was innocent of much harme which paſſed vnder his commaundement; but the patience of the people could not endure that two or three ſhould rule all; not by reaſon they were ſufficient, but becauſe they were in fauour: and the King in that he permitted them whom he might haue bridled, or was ignorant of that which he ſhould haue knowen, by tollerating and wincking at their faults, made them his owne, & opened thereby the way to his deſtruction. So often times it falleth out to bee as daungerous to a prince to haue hurtfull and hateſull officers in place and ſeruices of weight, as to be hurtfull and hatefull himſelfe.

The Duke of Yorke either amazed at this ſodain change, or fearing his aduenture if he ſhould proceed in reſiſtance, gaue ouer the cauſe, and preferred preſent ſecurity, before duty with daunger; giuing moſt men occaſion to miſdeeme by his dealing, that he ſecretly fauored the dukes enterpriſe; likewiſe all the other counſailers of that ſide, either openly declared for the Duke or ſecretly wiſhed him wel: & abandoning all priuate direction & aduice, adioyned themſelues to the common courſe, preſuming thereby of greater ſafety.

Duke *Henrie* in the meane time being at London, entred into deliberation with his friends, what way were beſt to be followed. At the laſt, hauing conſidered the forwardneſſe of the

the people, the greatnes of the perill whereinto they had already plunged, & the kings irreconcilable nature, wherof he made proofe against the duke of Glouceſter, & the earles of Arundel & of Warwicke: they finally reſolued to expel him from his dignity, & to conſtitute duke *Henry* king in his ſted: and to that end open war was denounced againſt the King, and againſt all his partakers, as enemies to the quiet and proſperity of the realme; and pardon alſo promiſed to all thoſe that would ſubmit themſelues to follow the preſent courſe, otherwiſe to look for no fauour, but all extremities. None of the nobility durſt openly oppoſe himſelfe to theſe deſignes: ſome vnwilling to play al their ſtate at a caſt; kept themſelus at liberty, to be directed by ſucceſſe of further euent: others conſented coldly, and in tearmes of doubtfull conſtruction, with intent to interpret them afterwards, as occaſion ſhould change: but the moſt parte did directly and reſolutely enter into the cauſe, and made their fortunes common with the Duke, in daunger of the attempt, but not in honour: among whome, the Duke ſtanding vp, vſed ſpeach to this purpoſe.

I am returned here as you ſee, at your procurement, and by your agreement haue entred into armes for the common liberty: wee haue hitherto proſperouſly proceeded, but in what tearmes we now ſtand, I am altogether vncertaine. A priuate man I am loath to be accompted, being deſigned to be King by you; and a Prince I cannot be eſteemed, whilſt another is in poſſeſſion of the kingdome. Alſo your name is in ſuſpence, whether to be termed rebels or ſubiects, vntill you haue made manifeſt that your allegeance was bound rather to the ſtate of the realme then the perſon of the prince. Now you are the men who haue both cauſed this doubtfulnes and muſt cleare the ſame; your parts ſtill remaineth to be performed; your vertue & valure muſt adde ſtrength to the goodneſſe of this action. We haue already attempted ſo far, that all hope of pardon is extinct; ſo that if wee ſhould ſhrinke back, & breake of the enterpriſe, no mercy is to be expected

but butchery and gibbets, and all extremities: if we driue of & delay the accompliſhment thereof, we ſhall looſe the opportunity which now is offred, and open to our enimies occaſion of aduantage. For the peoples bloud is vp now on our ſide, and nothing is wanting but our owne diligence & care: let vs not therefore trifle out the time of doing, in talking & deliberating: it is beſt ſtriking whilſt the yron is hoate: let vs ſet forth roundly, and poſſeſſe our ſelues with ſpeed of al the parts of the realme: and ſo we ſhall bee able either to keepe out our concurrent, or els to entertaine him litle to his liking. So troups of men were ſent into euery quarter of the realme, to ſecure them for making ſtrength on the part of King *Richard:* but the people in all places as men broken with many burthens, did eaſily entertaine the firſt commer, and were not curious to ſide with the ſtrōger. The Duke purſued thoſe of the Kings priuy counſaile, which fled away from the duke of Yorke; bearing himſelfe with great cheere and courage, as confident in the cauſe, and ſecure of the euent. When he came at Briſtow he found the caſtle fortified againſt him; but in ſhort time he forced it, and tooke therein *Sir Iohn Buſhy, Sir Henrie Greene, & W. Scrōpe, L. Treaſurer,* a ioyfull pray to the commō people: who (fearing that if execution ſhould bee deferred, petitions for pardon might happen to preuaile, and ſo their cruelties and iniuries ſhould bee anſwered with the vaine title and commendation of clemency) did violently require them vnto death, no reſpite could be obteined, no defence admitted, no anſwere heard: yea their humble and ſubmiſſe intreaty was interpreted to argue a weake & broken courage vpon a guilty conſcience, which more incenſed the rage of the people, crying out that they were traitours, bloud-ſuckers, theeues, and what other heinous tearmes inſulting fury did put into their mouthes: at which clamorous and importunant inſtance, the day following they were beheaded. Sir *William Bagot* came not with them to Briſtowe, but turned to Cheſter: and the purſuit being made after the

moſt

moſt, he alone eſcaped into Ireland. This execution, partly becauſe it pleaſed the people, and partly becauſe it excluded all hope of the Kings pardon, cauſed them to cleaue more cloſely to the Duke; which greatly encreaſed, both his glory, & his hope; hauing offers of ſo large aide, & need of ſo litle.

In the meane time this newes of the Dukes arriuall and of other occurrences, part true, part falſe, and part enlarged by circumſtance (as fame groweth in the going) was blowen ouer to the King, being then entangled with other broyles in Ireland, at the receipt whereof, hee cauſed the ſonnes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Duke of Lancaſter to be impriſoned in the ſtrong Caſtle of Trim, which is in Ireland, and for diſpatch to returne into England, left many matters vnfiniſhed, and moſt of his prouiſion behind, haſting & ſhufling vp, as preſent neceſſitie did enforce. So being both vnskilfull and vnfortunate himſelfe, & deuoide of good direction; with more haſte then good hap he tooke ſhipping, with the Duke of Aumerle, Exceter, & Surrie, the Biſhops of London, Lincolne, and Caerliele, and many other men of qualitie: and croſſing the ſeas, landed at Milford hauen in Wales, in which countrimen he alwaies repoſed his chiefeſt ſuretie and truſt, but then he ſaw contrarie to his expectatiō, that as wel there as in all other places, the people by plumps flocked to the Duke, & fled from him: yea they that came with him began for to wauer, no man encouraging them to be conſtant, but many to reuolt. This ſuddaine chaunge not looked for, not thought vpon, diſturbed all the Kings deuiſes, & made him irreſolute what hee ſhould doe: on the one ſide hee ſaw his cauſe and quarrell to be right, and his conſcience (he ſaide) cleare from any bad demerite: on the other ſide hee ſaw the great ſtrength of his enemies, and the whole power of the realme bent againſt him: & being more abaſhed by the one, then emboldned by the other, he ſtoode perplexed in vncertaine termes, either where to ſtay, or whether to ſtirre, hauing neither skil nor reſolution himſelfe in caſes of difficultie, and

noxious to hurtfull and vnfaithfull counſaile. Some aduiſed him to march forward, and pierce deeper into the land, before his owne forces fell from him: affirming, that valure is ſeconded by fortune: that this courage of his, would confirme the conſtancie of his ſouldiours: and his preſence put the people in remembrance of their faith: that in all places he ſhould finde ſome, who for fauour, or for hire, or elſe for duetie, would adheare vnto him: whereby hee ſhould ſoone gather ſtrength ſufficient to ioyne iſſue with his enemie in the fielde. Others perſwaded him to retire againe into Ireland, & then if ſuccour failed him in England, to wage ſouldiours out of other countries. But the King being no man of action in militarie affaires, reiected both the counſailes, as neyther venturous enough with the one, nor warie enough with the other: and taking a middle courſe (which in caſes of extremitie of all is the worſt) he determined to make ſtaye in Wales, and there to attende to what head this humour would riſe.

The Duke vpon aduertiſement that the King was landed in Wales, remoued with a ſtrong armie from Briſtowe towardes Cheſter, vſing the firſt oportunitie againſt him, and which in deed was the fitteſt, When *L. Thomas Piercie* Earle of Worceſter, and ſteward of the Kings houſhold, heard of the Dukes approach, he brake forth into ſhewe of that diſpleaſure, which before hee had conceiued againſt the King, for proclayming his brother, the Earle of Northumberlande traytour, and thereupon openly in the hall, in the preſence of the Kings ſeruants, he brake his white rodde, the enſigne of his office, and forth with departed to the Duke, willing euery man to ſhift for himſelfe in time: by which acte he loſt reputation, both with the haters & fauourers of King *Richard*; being accompted of the one a corrupter, of the other a forſaker and betrayer of the King. After this example, almoſt all the reſt, more fearefull then faithfull ſcattered themſelues euery one his way: and they who in the Kings flouriſhing

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time, would haue contended to bee foremoſt, now in his declining eſtate equally draw backe, and like ſwallowes, forſooke that houſe in the winter of fortunes boyſterous blaſts, where they did nothing but feede & foyle in the ſummer of her ſweete ſunne-ſhine. And thus betweene faint ſouldiers and falſe friends, the King was abandoned and forſaken, and left almoſt vnto himſelfe: looke on he might, but let it, hee could not, as not of force to puniſh that, which he neuer forced to preuent: his only remedy was pacience: (a cold comfort) his only reuenge was complaint: (a weake weapon) betweene which two, his bitterneſſe did in this manner breake from him.

And doe theſe alſo (ſaid he) forſake me? doth their faith & my fortune end together? wel, if I had forſaken them in time I had not beene forſaken of others, who once loued me better, and now are able to harme me more. But now I ſee the blindneſſe of my iudgement: I plainely ſee, that there is no friendſhip in flatterie, nor treacherie in plaine truth: and I would I had as much time to reforme this errour, as I am like to haue to repent it, but they would not ſuffer me to be wiſe when I might, and now they haue made me wretched they runne from me: they could bee the cauſes, but they will not be companions of my miſeries: ſuch attendants are Crowes to a carcaſſe, which flocke together, not to defend, but to deuour it, and no ſooner haue they layd the bones bare, but ſtraight-wayes they are gone.

Thus the King hauing loſt both the feare and loue of his ſubiects, diſturbed and diſtracted in thoughts, without comfort councell or courage, remained ſtill in Wales, as a ſtranger at home, as an exile in his owne kingdome, not daring to goe to London, nor any man deſirous to come to him, ſhifting ſtill from place to place, and (as it fals out to men diſtreſſed & amazed) fearing all things, but moſt diſliking the preſent. The Duke continually purſued him with a mightie armie: but the Kings companie was too ſmall to doe any thing

by force, & yet too great to remaine in ſecret: neither were they in any ſort aſſured vnto him, but ſuch as ſhame and reuerence retained a while; bands of ſmall countenance, with men fearefull of danger, & careleſſe of credite. At the length he came to the Caſtle of Conwey'e; and there being vtterly diſtitute both of helpe and hope, he ſtood deuided in mind what way to bend his courſe, all his followers weare more ready to impugne the opinions of other, thē to giue direction themſelues, as ſeeing better what to ſhunne then what to follow: and as it alwayes chanceth in deſperate cauſes, that way was commonly preferred, wherof the opportunitie was aleady paſt. Some aduiſed him, that it was thē time to think, rather of ſauing his life, then recouering his eſtate. You ſee (ſaid they) how greatly & how wholly your ſubiects are ſet againſt you: it is but in vaine to look for a ſuddaine change, or without a chaunge to hope that your purpoſes may preuaile, giue place for a time to the currant of this furie; let it haue the full ſway; and when it is at the higheſt pitch, it will turne againe; and then you ſhall haue the tide as ſtrong on your ſide, as it is now againſt you. This motiō or rather commotion of the people, is violent and againſt nature: & therefore (as a ſtone forced vpward) is moſt ſtrong at the beginning, and the further it paſſeth the more it weakneth, vntil at laſt it returne to the naturall courſe againe. Therefore giue a little ſpace, for the bad to draw backe, for the good to put forward: treaſons preuaile on the ſuddaine: but good counſailes gather forces by leaſure. You haue example in your noble progenitor King *Henry* the third, againſt whome the Lords ſet vp *Lewes* the French kings ſonne: conditions were concluded, & faith was made that he ſhould be their King: but this purpoſe laſted not the pulling on: for before they had poſſeſſed him of the Kingdom, they ioyned togither in armes againſt him, & were as fierce to driue him out of the realme, as they had beene found to draw him in. The like alteration may you likewiſe not onely hope, but aſſuredly expect: for

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the mindes of men are conſtant in nothing but inconſtancie, and perſeuer onely in chaunge, in diſlike of things preſent they deſire new, where with they reſt not long contented, but are many times glutted euen with the firſt ſight. And indeed how can they long endue the raigne of him, who attaining the kingdome onely by their fauour and might, ſhall holde the ſame in a manner, at their courteſie and will? for euerie vnpleaſant commaund, ſhall be deemed ingratitude: euerie ſuit reiected, ſhal charge him with vnkindneſſe: Yea if honor be not offered, the wil be diſcontented: and vppon any occaſion of diſpleaſure, thinke themſelues as able to diſplace him, as they were to ſet him vp: therefore you may for a time, returne againe into Ireland; or elſe paſſe the ſeas to your Father in lawe, the king of Fraunce: you may aſſure your ſelfe of his aſſiſtance, to ſet vpon your ſide, and recouer your loſſes. Times haue their turnes, and fortune her courſe too and fro like the ſea, & magnanimitie is ſhewne by enduring, & not relinquiſhing when ſhe doth croſſe, onely looſe no point of courage, and keepe your perſon at large: reſeruing your ſelfe to that good hope, which neuer dieth whilſt life endure.

Others, who were enemies to all counſaile, whereof themſelues were not authors, perſwaded the King, that the nobilitie and commons of the realme had attempted ſo farre, that they would rather dye, then deſiſt; not ſo much for hatred to you, as for feare to themſelues; hauing ſo deadly incenſed your diſpleaſure againſt them. For it is a hard matter to forgiue, and impoſſible to forget thoſe iniuries and indignities which they haue offered. And to omit what ſome princes haue done, what all will promiſe to doe, they will ſoone find freſh and bleeding examples what you are like to doe. The Duke of Glouceſter and the Earle of Arundell and of Warwicke did riſe in armes againſt you, not to remoue you from your crowne: but to remoue certaine perſons frō your companie, an action more diſpleaſing then preiudiciall vnto you: at the laſt, a friendſhip was made, and charters of free par-

don graunted vnto them: but what followed? was euer the breach perfectly made vp? did displeasure dye? or was it only dissembled? ah, it grieueth vs to thinke, how the present want of their liues, hath fully reuenged their deathes: for if they had liued, their countenance and authority woulde easily haue staied these stirs; and the manner of their deaths doth strike an obstinate persistance into all your enemies. As for refuge to forren Princes, you shall surely receiue of them entertainment and allowance, and yet may growe burdensome. and at last perhaps faile: but it is very hard to draw any Prince into so dangerous a quarrell: and more harde by that meanes to preuaile: or if you should, it is to bee feared that the victorers will hold to themselues the benefit of their conqueſt, and not yeeld it ouer vnto you. Few countries but haue bin vnder pretence of ayde by forreiners subdued: and this was the only cause which first drew the Saxons into this land: who so assisted the Britaines against their enemies, that themselues could not be resisted from possessing theyr kingdome. Yet we doe not altogether condemne the helpe of straungers, in cases of extremity; but doe account it a remedy, least to be trusted, and last of all to bee tried. What then if first you should procure a treaty, to see in what terms the people stand against you? It may be that vpon some conditions they will submit themselues vnto you, as heretofore they haue done. Or if they wil needs deforce you from your kingdome, yet if an honourable maintenance may bee assured, what shall you lose thereby? What shall you lack? You haue no childe to be disinherited; the chiefest motiue which maketh men so greedy to get, and so carefull to keepe. And as for your selfe, you shall be remoued from a steepe & slippery hill, to a smooth and pleasant plaine; from tempestuous seas, to a calme hauen; from daungerous trauaile to secure rest: & if there be no solace without safety, no felicity without firmnesse; you shall finde the priuate life not only more sweete, but more high and happy then your princely state.

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The talleſt trees are weakeſt in the toppes; in wideſt fieldes are greateſt tempeſts; and enuy alwaies aimeth at loftieſt marks: ſo that to be placed on high, is a falſe felicity, and a true miſery; in ſhew a rule, but indeed a ſubiection to all the ſubiects; hauing leaſt ſtay to ſtand, and moſt danger in the fall: and therefore if you come downe ſafely, you are therein priuileged aboue many other. But you ſhal loſe (you will ſay) the credit & the countenance of a King: ſo you ſhal the cares; and ſo you ſhall the caſualties. The crown & ſceptar are things moſt weighty to weld: if a Prince be good, he is laden with labour; if euill, with infamy and reproch: if either with perils: on euery ſide he is beſet with dangerous rocks, with deadly gulfes, & continually toſſed with ſtrong and ſturdie tempeſts: ſo that to be freed frō theſe feares, is to be eſteemed an eſcape, and not a loſſe. This did the ſtoick Philoſopher perceiue, who ſeeing *Dionyſius* ſit, merily & freely conceited in the theater, beeing a little before expelled his kingdom; greatly condemned the error of his people who had baniſhed him to ſuch liberty, & ſo preferred him by his puniſhment. Theſe are the dreames of philoſophers (you will ſay) who vſually contemne and deprave honor, & yet neuer lie from honourable mens tables. Let paſſe then Philoſophers: go to vaine and ſottiſh men. *Seleuchus* being a king was wont to ſay, that if a man knew with what cares thē diadē was clogged, he would not take it vp, although it lay in the ſtreet. You will ſay peraduenture, that like the boatman, he looked one way, and pulled another; or like the lapwing, he cried moſt whē he was furtheſt from his neſt, vainly diſpraiſing that which he was loatheſt to looſe. What ſay you then to *Antiochus*? whome when the Romanes had diſpoiled of al Aſia, he ſent vnto them great thanks, that they had rid him of infinit & importable cares, and ſet him at a moderate quiet: you will ſay that hee made a vertue of his neceſſity. Well then, we are ſomewhat neere your cace: & they that cannot frame their wils to this wiſedome, let them thanke their enimies for enforcing them to it. But what ſay you to *Dioclesian*? who did voluntarily relinquiſht, not a ſmall and corner kingdōe, but the greateſt empire that the world did euer beare

and found ſo ſweet contentmẽt in that exchange, that when he was importuned by the ſenate, to reſume his eſtate, hee vtterly reiected their ſuite. But what need we trauell in externe hiſtories, for thoſe examples, whereof we haue ſo large ſupply in our owne? the ancient Saxon Kings; *Kingilſus, Ina, Ceolulphus, Eadbertus, Ethelredus, Kẽredus, Offa, Sebbi, & Sigebertus* did of their owne accord laye downe their diadems and ſcepters, and betake thẽſelues to ſolitary & religious liues. Now many Princes haue helde their eſtate with better fortune, but none did euer with greater honor leaue it, then you ſhould at this preſent: for others haue abãdoned their rule, either for deſire of eaſe, or for auoidance of dangers, or vpon ſome ſluggiſh and ſuperſtitious deuotiõ: but you for loue to your country, ſhal forbeare to ſeek your vttermoſt remedy, in ſetting vp a moſt cruel war: wherein much Engliſh bloud ſhould be ſpilt, & the Realme depriued of many worthy armies. Let others be reported to forſake their kingdoms, when they had no longer pleaſure to hold thẽ: but your praiſe ſhall be for giuing ouer, when it is greateſt benefit vnto the people: and the more hope you haue to preuaile, if you liſt to contend, the greater commendations will it bee to yeeld, as being rather voluntary then by conſtraint.

The king cõmended the courage of the firſt, but this laſt coũſell beſt agreed with his faint & feeble ſpirit, more yeelding to feare then forward in hope; apt by the one to deſpaire, vnable by the other to holde out in any hard aduenture, preferring alwayes abiect and baſe ſafety, before hazard with honour. Yet were many ready to reply, that al ſpeech of conditions & yeelding was both diſhonorable & alſo dangerous: for euen in hardeſt haps, ſaid they, a noble nature wil not preſently relinquiſh; but firſt endeuor either by courage to repell the danger, or by wiſdome to decline it: and why ſhould you ſo litle eſteem your glory & fame, as without battel, or blow ſtriken, to bind your hands, & yeeld vp your weapons, and put your ſelfe vpon miſerable mercy: or if the honor of your noble houſe doth nothing moue you, yet let danger & deſpaire at leaſt arme you to boldneſſe: for neither the duke nor his friends will be ſo confident

as to thinke themſelues ſafe, ſo long as you ſhall remaine (although in priuate ſtate) aliue. Indeed you may aſſure your ſelfe that faire words wil be giuen, & large offers made: but the performance ſhal cõſiſt in the courteſy of the conqueror: and nothing will be thought vnlawfull to him that hath power. King *Edward* the ſecond was too heauy to be indured, euẽ of his own ſonne: and many haue vſed violence to themſelues, rather then they would fal into the power of their concurrents: and do not you expect more fauor or greater fortune thẽ other haue foũd: let neuer that ſenſeleſnes poſſeſſe your mind, to imagine that a prince may liue ſafely in priuate eſtate: for in this caſe there is no meane betweene *Cæſar* and nothing, betweene the higheſt honor & the deadlieſt downfall. Therfore omit neither al nor any one meanes vnaſſayed, to maintaine your ſide by armes: no greater harme can happen at the hardeſt, then that which willingly you run into: you can but die if you be vanquiſhed, & die you ſhall if you do yeeld: but by the one you ſhall end your life with glory, by the other, with ſhame & perpetuall reproch. And although you do now eſteeme equally of both, yet when you ſhall ſee your ſelfe pent in priſon, in dayly feare and expectancy of a bloudy meſſenger; you ſhall then perceiue a difference in death, and find the weakneſſe and fault of the counſell which you are about to follow. Many like ſpeeches were with great vehemẽcy often repeated, but the Kings eares were ſtopped againſt al impreſſion of manhood: and as he was vnable to gouerne himſelfe in his proſperous eſtate, ſo was he much leſſe ſufficient to wind out of theſe intricate troubles. Therfore perceiuing himſelfe ſo ſtraitly beſet, that he could hardly either eſcape away, or ſhift any longer, he deſired ſpeech with *Tho. Arundel* archbiſh. of Cant. & L. *Hen. Percy* earle of Northumb. of whom, the one he had baniſhed, the other he had proclaimed traitor not long before. Theſe two came vnto him, & the king vpon ſhort cõference, vnderſtanding what ſtiffe ſtomacks they bare againſt him, was cõtent not to demand that which he ſaw he could not obtaine: & thereupon agreed that he would relinquiſh his eſtate, vpõ condition that an honorable liuing might

be assined him,& life promised to 8.such persons as hee would name: the greatest number whom aduersity did not alter. This was then both readily & faithfully promised by the Archbish. and the earle, & afterward solemnly ratified by the Duke. The king ceased not to intreat submissly,& promise largely, and(as the nature is of men perplexed with feare) aboue his ability,& without measure, the earle incouraged him,and declared that the Duke before he had obtained any aide, secured by his oath the safety of the Kings person. Then the King desired to talke with the duke,which was likewise promised;&so the archbish. &the earle departed,& the king remoued to the castle of Flint, about 8. miles distant from Chester, to which place the Duke came to him. Here the coũtenances & words of both were noted,by them that were present:the king seemed abiect & base: the duke neither insulting nor relenting, but comforting and promising friendly. The king repeated many benefits & kindnesses that he had shewed: how in former time he had spared the dukes owne life, & lately his sonnes: in regard whereof he desired him,with such submisnes as was agreeable rather with his necessity then his honour: that he would shew some pitie, where he had receiued such pleasure: and permit him to enioy his life,with such priuate maintenance as was cõuenient for his estate. The duke put him in good comfort, promising him assuredly,that he would prouide for his safety: for which he suffered himselfe to be solemnly thanked,& thought it not much to haue it accounted a great benefit. Indeed from that time the king was kept safe and sure enough, from hinding any of the dukes purposes, neither could it so easily haue bene discerned what had bene best for him to do,as that this which he did was the very worst: for the same night he was brought by the duke and his army to Chester,and from thence secretly conueyed to the Tower of London, there to be kept safe vntill the Parliament,which was appointed shortly after to be holden.

Thus the King yealded himselfe, the 20. day of August, being the 47. day after the Dukes arriuall: so that his iournyes considered,from Houlderneſſe in the North to London: from thence

thence to Briſtowe, & ſo into Wales, & backe againe to Cheſter: a man ſhal not eaſily trauaile ouer the land in ſhorter time then he conquered it. So frienly was fortune vnto him, that he eyther found or made a readie paſſage through al hinderances and lets: & it ſeemed that he needed onely, to open his armes, to meete and receiue her, as ſhe offered her ſelfe vnto him. All the Kings treaſure & Iewels, with his horſes, and al his fardage came to the Dukes hands; and many that were in his companie, wereafterwards alſo deſpoyled by the ſouldiers of Northumberland and Wales.

Some writers affirme, that the King did not yeald himſelfe, but was forelaied & taken, as he was ſecretly paſſing frō Flint to Cheſter: but the authority of others who liued in that time, eyther in the plaine viewe, or certaine intelligence of theſe affaires, who for their place could not but knowe, and for their profeſſiō would not but deliuer the very truth, hath drawn me to follow their report: which I find alſo receiued by ſome late wrighters, of as great deapth in iudgement and choyce, as any (without exception) that this age hath brought forth.

As the King was carried towards London, certaine citizens conſpired to lay themſelues in a wait by the way; and ſodainly to ſlay him; partly for priuate grieuances, & partly for the cruelty that he had vſed towards the whole city: but the Maior vpon intelligence preuented the practiſe, and rode forth in perſon with a cōuenient company, to conduct him ſafely vnto the tower. Shortly after the duke came to Londō in ſolemn eſtate, and ſent forth ſummons in the Kings name, for a Parlament to be holden at Weſtminſter, the laſt day of Septēber in the ſame yeare: in the meane time he deliberated with his kindred and kind friends, cōcerning the order of his proceedings. The duke of Yorke (who a litle before had bene gouernour of the realm for the king & the was the chiefeſt directer of the duke) thoght it beſt that *K. Richard* ſhould both voluntarily reſigne, & alſo ſolemnly be depoſed, by conſent of all the ſtates of the realme: for reſignation only would be imputed to feare, and depriuation to force; wherof the one is alwaies pitied, and the other enuied;

uied: but if both concurre, and his deſire be combined with his deſart, being willing to forſake that which he is adiudged worthy to forgo; then ſhall it apeare, that he neither is expelled his kingdom by meere conſtraint, nor leaueth it without iuſt cauſe This aduice pleaſed the reſt, and for executing therof vpon the day of S. Michaell (which was the day before the Parlament ſhould being) there aſſembled at the Tower. *Thomas Arundell* archbiſh. of Canterbury, *Richard Scroupe* archbiſh. of Yorke, *Iohn* biſhop of Hereford, *Henry* duke of Lancaſter, *Henry* earle of Northumberland, *Radulph* Earle of Weſtmerland, L. *Hugh Burnell*, L. *Thomas Berkly*, L. *Roſe*, L. *Willoughby*, L. *Abergeiny*, the Abbat of Weſtminſter, the Prior of Canterbury, *William Thirninges*, and *Iohn Makeham*, Chiefe Iuſtices, *Thomas Stoke*, and *Iohn Burbacke*, Doctours of Law, *T. Herpingham*, and *T. Gray* knights, *W. Ferby*, and *Dioniſe Lopham* publike Notaries, and diuers others either not noted, or not remembred. When all were ſet in their places, King *Richard* was brought foorth, apparelled in his royall robe, the diademe on his head, and the ſcepter in his hand; and was placed amongſt them in a chaire of eſtate. Neuer was prince ſo gorgeous, with leſſe glory and greater griefe: to whom it was not diſgrace ſufficient, to loſe both the honour and ornaments of a king, but he muſt openly to his greater ſcorne, renounce the one, and deliuer the other. After a little pauſe and expectation, the King aroſe from his ſeat, and ſpake to the aſſembly theſe words, or the very like in effect.

I aſſure my ſelfe that ſome at this preſent, and many hereafter, will accompt my caſe lamentable; either that I haue deſerued this deiection, if it be iuſt; or if it be wrongfull, that I could not auoide it. Indeede I doe confeſſe, that many times I haue ſhewed my ſelfe both leſſe prouident, and leſſe painfull for the benefite of the common-wealth, then I ſhould, or might, or intended to doe hereafter; and haue in many actions, more reſpected the ſatisfying of my owne particular humour, then either iuſtice to ſome priuate perſons, or the common good of al, yet I did not at any time, either omit dutie or cómit grieuance,

vpon

vpon naturall dulneſſe or ſet malice, but partly by abuſe of corrupt councellers, partly by errour of my youthfull iudgement. And now the remembrance of theſe ouer-ſights, is ſo vnpleaſant to no man, as to my ſelfe: and the rather becauſe I haue no meanes left, either to recompence the iniuries which I haue done, or to teſtifie to the world my reformed affections, which experience and ſtayednes of yeares had already corrected, & would dayly haue framed to more perfection. But whether all the imputations wherewith I am charged be true, either in ſubſtance, or in ſuch qualities as they are laid; or whether being true, they be ſo heinous, as to inforce theſe extremities, or whether any other Prince, eſpecially in the heate of youth, and in the ſpace of two and twentie yeares (the time of my vnfortunate raigne) doth not ſometimes either for aduantage, or vpon diſpleaſure, in as deepe maner grieue ſome particular ſubiect; I will not now examine: it helpeth not to vſe defence, neither booteth it to make complaint: there is left no place for the one, nor pittie for the other: and therefore I referre it to the iudgement of God, and your leſſe diſtempered conſiderations.

I accuſe no man, I blame no fortune, I complaine of nothing: I haue no pleaſure in ſuch vaine and needleſſe comforts: and if I liſted to haue ſtood vpon termes, I know I haue great fauourers abroad, and ſome friends (I hope) at home, who would haue beene ready, yea forward on my behalfe, to ſet vp a bloudy and doubtfull warre: but I eſteeme not my dignitie at ſo high a price, as the hazard of ſo great valure, the ſpilling of ſo much Engliſh bloud, and the ſpoile and waſte of ſo flouriſhing a Realme, as thereby might haue beene occaſioned. Therefore that the Common-wealth may rather riſe by my fall, then I ſtand by the ruine thereof, I willingly yeeld to your deſires, and am heere come to diſpoſſeſſe my ſelfe of all publike authoritie and title, and to make it free and lawfull for you to create for your King, *Henrie* Duke of Lancaſter my couſin germaine, whom I know to bee as worthie to

take that place, as I ſee you willing to giue it to him.

Then he read openly and diſtinctly the forme of his ceſſion, wherein hee did declare, that hee had diſcharged his ſubiectes, from their oathes of fealtie and homage, and all other oathes whatſoeuer; and of his owne will & free motion, did abdicate, the title, dignitie, and auctoritie of a King: and rendred vp the poſſeſſion of the Realme, with the vſe and title thereof, and all the rights thereunto appertaining. To this the King ſubſcribed and was ſworne: and then hee deliuered with his owne hands the Crowne, the Septer, and the Robe to the Duke of Lancaſter; wiſhing vnto him more happineſſe therewith, then had euer happened vnto himſelfe. Then he did conſtitute the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of Hereford his procurators, to intimate and declare this his reſignation to all the ſtates of the realme, which ſhould be aſſembled together in Parliament Laſtly, he gaue all his riches and goods, to the ſumme of three hundred thouſand pounds in coyne, beſides his Iewels & plate, for ſatisfaction of the iniuryes that hee had done, deſiring the Duke, & al the reſt that were preſent ſeuerally by their names, not altogether to forget that he had beene their King, nor yet too much to thinke vpon the ſame; but to retaine of him a moderate remembrance; and in recompence of the eaſe that hee had done them by his voluntarie yeelding, to permit him to liue ſafely, in a priuate and obſcure life: with the ſweeteneſſe wherof he was ſo poſſeſſed, that frō thenceforth he would preferre it, before any preferment in the world. All this was deliuered and done by the King, with voyce and countenance ſo agreeable to his preſent heauineſſe, that there was no man too vnmindefull of humane inſtabilitie, which was not in ſome meaſure moued thereat: inſomuch as a fewe ſecrete teares melted from the eyes of many that were preſent, in whoſe mindes a confuſed and obſcure alteration alreadie ganne to beginne. So prone and inclinable are men to pitie miſerie, although they haue procured it, and to enuie proſperitie, euen that which they haue rayſed.

Vpon

Vpon Munday next following the Parlament began at Weſtminſter; and the Archbiſhop of Yorke and the Biſhop of Hereford (the Kings Atturneyes for this purpoſe) declared openly to the ſtates there aſſembled, the Kings voluntarie reſignation; and demaunded whether they would aſſent and agree therevnto? the Barons of the realme by ſeuerall and particular conſent, the commons with one generall voyce, did expreſlye accept and admit the ſame. Then it was thought meet that certaine defects and miſdemeanures concerning matters of gouernment, ſhould be obiected againſt the King: for which he ſhould be adiudged as vnworthy, as he ſeemed vnwilling to reteine the kingdome. To this purpoſe certaine articles were engroſſed, and openly read: in which was conteyned, how vnprofitable the King had beene to the realme; how vniuſt and grieuous to the ſubiectes; contrarie both to his honour, and to his oath. The chiefeſt of which articles are theſe that follow.

1 FIrſt that King *Richard* did waſtefully ſpend the treaſure of the realme, and had giuen the poſſeſſion of the crowne, to men vnworthy, by reaſon whereof, new charges were dayly laide on the neckes of the poore comminaltie.

2 Item, where diuers Lords as well ſpirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of Parlament, to commune and treate of matters concerning the ſtate of the realme, and the commonwealth of the ſame, they being buſied about the ſame commiſſion, he with others of his affinitie went about to impeache them of treaſon.

3 Item, that by force and menace, he compelled the Iuſtices of the realme at Shrewsburie, to condiſcend to his opinion for the deſtruction of the ſaid Lords: Inſomuch as he began to raiſe warre, againſt *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, *Thomas* Earle of Arundell, *Richard* Earle of Warwicke, & other Lords contrarie to his honor and promiſe.

4 Item, that he cauſed his vnckle the Duke of Glouce-

ſter, to be arreſted without lawe, and ſent him to Calice, and there without iudgement murthered him: and although the Earle of Arundell vpon his arraignement, pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in moſt vile and ſhamefull manner ſodainly put to death.

5 Item, he aſſembled certaine Lancaſhire and Cheſhire men, to the intent to make warre on the foreſaid Lords, and ſuffered them to robbe and ſpoile, without correction and reproofe.

6 Item, that although the king flatteringly and with great diſſimulation, made proclamation throughout the realme, that the Lords aforenamed were not attached for any crime of treaſon, but onely for extortions and oppreſſions doone within the realme, yet he laide to them in the Parlament rebelion and manifeſt treaſon.

7 Item, he hath compelled diuers of the ſaid Lords ſeruants by menace, to make great fines & extreme paiments, to their vtter vndooing: and notwithſtanding his pardon to them graunted, he made them fine a new.

8 Item, where diuers were appointed to common of the eſtate of the realme, and the common wealth of the ſame, the king cauſed all the roules & records to be kept frō them, contrary to his promiſe made in parlament, to his opē diſhonor.

9 Item, he vncharitably commaunded, that no man vpon paine of loſſe of life and goods, ſhould once entreate him for the returne of *Henrie* now duke of Lancaſter.

10 Item, where the realme is houlden of God, and not of the Pope, or any other Prince, the ſaid King *Richard*, after he had obteyned diuers acts of Parlament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleaſure, then he procured Bulles and extreame cenſures from Rome, to compell all men ſtreitly to keepe the ſame, contrary to the honour and auncient priuiledges of this realme.

11 Item, although the Duke of Lancaſter had done his deuoyre againſt *Thomas* Duke of Northfolke, in proofe of

his

his quarrell, yet the ſaid king without reaſon or ground, baniſhed him the realme for ten yeares, contrarie to all equitie.

12 Item, before the Dukes departure, he vnder his broad Seale, licenced him to make atturneys, to proſecute and defend his cauſes: the ſaid king after his departure, would ſuffer none atturney to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleaſure.

13 Item, the ſaid king put out diuers Shiriffes lawfully elected, and put in their roomes diuers others of his owne minions, ſubuerting the lawe, contrarie to his oath and honour.

14 Item, he borrowed great ſummes of money, and bound himſelfe vnder his letters patents for the repayment of the ſame, and yet not one peny paide.

15 Item, he taxed men at the will of him and his vnhappie counſaile, and the ſame treaſure ſpent in folly, not paying poore men for their vittraile and viand.

16 Item, he ſaid that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and ſometimes in his breſt: by reaſon of which phantaſticall opinion, he deſtroyed noble men, and impoueriſhed the poore commons.

17 Item, the parlament ſetting and enacting diuers notable ſtatutes, for the profit and aduancement of the commonwealth, he by his priuie friends and ſolicitours, cauſed to be enacted, that no acte then enacted ſhould be more preiudicial to him, then it was to his predeceſſors: thorow which *prouiſo*, he did often as he liſt, and not as the lawe ment.

18 Item, for to ſerue his purpoſe, he would ſuffer the Shiriffes of the ſhires, to remaine aboue one yeare or two in their office.

19 Item, at the ſummons of parlament, when the Knights and Burgeſſes ſhould be elect, and the election had fully proceeded, he put out diuers perſons elected, and put in others in their places, to ſerue his will and appetite.

20 Item, he had priuie eſpials in euery ſhire, to heare

who had of him any communication, and if he communed of his laſciuious liuing, and outragious dooing, he ſtraightwayes was apprehended, and made a grieuous fine.

21 Item, the ſpiritualtie alledged againſt him, that he at his going into Ireland, exacted many notable ſummes of money, beſide Plate and Iewels, without lawe or cuſtome, contrary to his oath taken at his coronation.

22 Item, when diuers Lordes and Iuſtices were ſworne to ſay the trueth, of diuers things to them committed in charge, both for the honour of the realme, and profit of the king, the ſaid king ſo menaced them with ſore threatnings, that no man would or durſt ſay the right.

23 Item, that without the aſſent of the Nobilitie, he caryed the Iewels and Plate, and treaſure, ouer the ſea into Ireland; to the great impoueriſhing of the realme; and all the good recordes of the common wealth againſt his extortions, he cauſed priuily to be embeaſeled and caryed away.

24 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded and ſent to the ſea of Rome and other regions, his writing was ſo ſubtill and darke, that no other Prince durſt once beleeue him, nor yet his owne ſubiects.

25 Item, he moſt tyranouſlie and vnprincely ſaid, that the liues and goods of all his ſubiects, were in the Princes hands, and at his diſpoſition.

26 Item, that he contrarie to the great Charter of England, cauſed diuers luſtie men to appeale diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common law, in the court Marciall, becauſe that in that court is no triall but onely by battaile: whereby the ſayd aged perſons fearing the ſequell of the matter, ſubmitted themſelues to his mercie, whom he fined and ranſomed vnreaſonably at his pleaſure.

27 Item, he craftily deuiſed certaine priuie oathes, contrarie to lawe, and cauſed diuers of his ſubiects, firſt to be ſworne to obſerue the ſame, and after bound them in bands for ſurer keeping the ſame, to the great vndooing of many honeſt

honeſt men.

28 Item, where the Chancellour according to lawe, would in no wiſe graunt a prohibition to a certaine perſon, the king graunted it vnto the ſame perſon vnder his priuie ſeale, with great threatnings if it ſhould be diſobeyed.

29 Item, he baniſhed the Biſhop of Canterburie, without cauſe or iudgement, and kept him in the Parlament Chamber with men of armes.

30 Item, the biſhops goods he graunted to his ſucceſſor, vpon condition that he ſhould maintaine all his ſtatutes made at Shrewsburie, Anno 21. and the ſtatutes made, Anno 22. at Couentree.

31 Item, vppon the accuſation of the Archbiſhop, the king craftily perſwaded the ſaid Biſhop to make no anſwer, for he would be his warrant, and aduiſed him not to come to the Parlament; and ſo without anſwere he was condemned and exiled, and his goods ſeazed. Foure other Articles were laide, which particularlie did concerne the ſaid Archbiſhop, by whoſe dooing chiefly the king was vtterly vndone.

Then was demaunded of the Nobilitie and commons of the realme, what they iudged both of the trueth and deſert of theſe articles? who all agreed that the crimes were notorious, and that king *Richard* was worthie for the ſame to be depoſed from his princely dignitie. The noble men gaue their voyces, part corrupted by fauour, part awed by feare: and the commons are commonly like a flocke of Cranes, as one dooth flye, all will follow. Herevpon Commiſſioners were appointed by both the houſes; who pronounced ſentence of depoſition againſt king *Richard*, in manner and forme as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. We Iohn *Biſhop of S. Aſſes*, I. *Abbote of Glaſtenburie*, Thom. *Earle of Glouceſter*, Thom. *Lord Berkley*, Thom. Erpingham, Thom. Graye *Knights*: Will. Thirninge *Iuſtice*, *Commiſſioners for the matters hereafter*

after ſpecified, by the Lords ſpirituall and temporall of the realme of England, and the Comtoons of the ſaid realme, repreſenting all the ſtates of the ſaide Kingdome, ſpecially deputed, ſitting in ſeate of iudgement, and conſidering the manifold iniuries, and cruelties, and many other crimes and offences by Richard late King of the ſaide realme, committed and doone, contrarie to good gouernement, in the realmes and dominions aforeſaide, during the time of his reigne: alſo conſidering the articles which were openly exhibited and red before the ſaid ſtates, which were ſo publicke, notorious, manifeſt, and famous, that they could nor can by no anoydance and ſhift be concealed: alſo conſidering the confeſſion of the ſaide King, acknowledging and reputing and truly vpon his certaine knowledge iudging himſelfe to haue been and to be altogether inſufficient and vnskilfull, for the rule and gouernment of the realmes and Dominions aforeſaid and of any parts of them, and not vnworthy to be depoſed, for the notorious demerites, by the ſaid Richard firſt acknowledged, and afterward by his will and mandate, before the ſaid ſtates publiſhed, and to them opened and declared in the Engliſh tongue. Vpon theſe and other matters which were done concerning the ſame buſines, before the ſaid States and vs, by the diligent place, name and authority to vs in this part committed, in aboundance and for a cautele we pronounce, decree and declare, the ſaide Richard, to haue beene and to be vnprofitable and vnable, and altogether inſufficient and vnworthie for the rule and gouernement of the ſaid realmes, and of the dominions, rights and parts of them: and in regarde and reſpect of the premiſes, worthily to be depoſed from all kinglie dignitie and honour (if any ſuch dignitie and honour remaineth in him) and for the like cautele wee doe depoſe him by our ſentence definitiue, in this writing: inhibiting from henceforth expreſſely, all and ſingular Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, Dukes, Marquiſſes and Earles, Barons, Knights, Vaſſalles, and all other perſons whatſoeuer, of the ſaide realmes and dominions, and other places to the ſaid realmes and dominions appertaining, the ſubiects and liege people of the ſame, and euery of them, that from henceforth none obey, or intend

tend to obey the foreſaid Richard, *as king or Lord of the realmes and dominions aforeſaid.*

Then the ſame Commiſſioners were by the conſent and ſuffrages of both houſes, conſtituted procurators, ioyntlye and ſeuerally for all the ſtates of the realme; to reſigne and ſurrender vnto King *Richard*, for them and all other homages of the realme, all the homages and fealties which were both due and doone vnto him, as King and Soueraigne, and alſo to declare vnto him al the premiſes, concerning his depoſition. Now *Henrie* Duke of Lancaſter, that he might be reputed, or reported at the leaſt, not to attaine the kingdom by intruſion and wrong, was counſailed by his friends, to pretend ſome lawfull challenge and claime therevnto: and being in power, it was no ſooner aduiſed what was to bee doone, but it was preſently deuiſed how to doe it. So a title was drawne from *Edmund*, ſonne to King *Henrie* the third, whom they ſurnamed Crouch-backe: affirming that he was the eldeſt ſonne of King *Henrie*, and that for his deformitie, he was put from his right of ſucceſſion in the kingdome; which was for that cauſe giuen to his younger brother, King *Edward* the third: to this *Edmund* the Duke was next of bloud by his mother *Blanche*, ſole daughter and heyre to *Henrie* the firſt Duke of Lancaſter, and ſonne to the ſaid *Edmund*. This cunning conceit was perceiued of all men; but ſeeming not to perceiue it, was a point of friendſhip in ſome, & of obedience in the reſt: therefore the kingdome of England being then thought vacant, both by the reſignation, and alſo by the depoſition of King *Richard*: Duke *Henrie* aroſe from his ſeate, and ſtanding in the view of the Lords, croſſed himſelfe on the forehead, and on the breſt, and ſpake as followeth.

In the name of God Amen: I Henrie *of Lancaſter, claime the realme of England, & the crowne, with all the appurtenances as I that am deſcended by right line of the bloud royall, comming from that good Lord* K. Henrie *the third, & through the righe*

that

that God of his grace hath ſent mee, with the helpe of my kindred and of my friendes, to recouer the ſame: Which kingdome was in point to be vndoone, for default of good gouernment and due iuſtice.

After theſe wordes, it was demaunded in both houſes, of the Nobility & of the commons which were aſſembled, whether they did conſent that the Duke ſhould raigne? Who all with one voyce, acknowledged and accepted him for their King: then the Archbiſhop of Canterbury tooke him by the hand, and placed him in the throane of eſtate, the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke aſſiſting him, and all the aſſemblie teſtifying their owne ioy, and wiſhing his. Then the Archbiſhop made an oration, and tooke for his theame, this place of Scripture: *See, this is the man whom I ſpake to thee of, this ſame ſhall raigne ouer my people*, 1. Reg. 9. 17. After all this he was proclaimed King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland: and the common people which is voide of cares, not ſearching into ſequels, but without difference of right or wrong inclinable to follow thoſe that are mighty, with ſhoutes and clamours gaue their applauſe, not all vpon iudgement, or faithfull meaning, but moſt onely vpon a receiued cuſtome to flatter the Prince whatſoeuer he be. Yet leaſt the heate of this humour ſhould allay by delay, it was foorthwith proclaimed in the great Hall, that vpon the 13. day of September next enſuing, the Coronation of the King ſhould be celebrated at Weſtminſter. Theſe matters being thus diſpatched, the King proclaimed, aroſe from his ſeate, and went to White Hall: where he ſpent the reſt of the day in royall feaſting, and all other complements of ioy: notwithſtanding there appeared in him no token of ſtatelyneſſe or pride, nor any change in ſo great a change.

Vpon Wedneſday next following, the procurators, before mentioned, went to the preſence of King Richard, being within the Tower; and declared vnto him the admiſſion of his reſignation, and alſo the order and forme of his depoſition:

ſition: and in the name of all the ſtates of the realme, did ſurrender the homage and fealty which had beene due vnto him; ſo that no man from thence foorth would beare to him faith and obedience, as to their King. The King anſwered that he nothing reguarded theſe titular circumſtances, but contented himſelfe with hope, that his couſen would be gracious Lord, and good friend vnto him.

So vpon the 13. day of October, which was the day of the tranſlation of Edward the Confeſſour, the Duke was with all accuſtomed ſolemnities, by the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury, ſacred, annointed and Crowned King at Weſtminſter, by the name of King *Henry* the fourth: vpon the very ſame day, wherein the yeere before, he had beene baniſhed the Realme. Hee was annoynted with an oyle, which a certaine religious man gaue vnto *Henry* the firſt Duke of Lancaſter (Grandfather to the King by the mothers ſide) when hee ſerued in the warres of King *Edward* the third, beyond the ſeas; together with this Propheſie, that the Kinges which ſhould bee annoynted therewith, ſhould bee the champions of the Church. Duke *Henry* deliuered this oyle in a golden vioII to Prince *Edward*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edward* the third; who locked vp the ſame in a barred cheſt within the Tower, with intent to be annoynted therewith, when he ſhould bee crowned King: but the Prince dying before his Father, it remained there, eyther not remembred, or not regarded, vntill this preſent yeere; wherein the King, being vpon his voyage into Ireland, and making diligent ſearch for the iewels and monumentes of his progenitours, found this Violl and Propheſie: and vnderſtanding the ſecret, was deſirous to bee anoynted againe with that oyle: but the Archbiſhop of Canterburie perſwaded him, that both the fact was vnlawfull, and the precedent vnſeene, that a King ſhould bee anoynted twice: whereupon he brake of that purpoſe, and tooke the Violl with him into Ireland: and

when hee yeelded himſelfe at Flint, the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye demaunded it of him agayne and dyd receaue and reſerue the ſame, vntill the coronation of King *Henrie*; who was the firſt King of this realme, that was anoynted there with.

I am not purpoſed to diſcourſe, eyther of the authoritye, or of the certaintye of theſe propheſies: but wee may eaſily obſerue, that the greateſt part of them, eyther altogether fayled, or were fulfilled in another ſence, then as they were commonly conſtrued and taken. During the raigne of King *Henrie* the fourth, execution by fire was firſt put in practiſe within this Realme, for controuerſies in poyntes of religion: in any other extraordinarye matter, hee did as much make the Church champion, as ſhew himſelfe a champion of the Church: but afterwardes his ſucceſſours were entytuled *Defenders of the fayth*: and howe in action they veryfied the ſame, I referre to remembraunce and reporte of later times.

Now it had beene conſidered, that the tytle which was deriued to King *Henrie*, from *Edmund*, whome they ſurnamed Crouchbacke, would bee taken but for a blynde and idle ieſt: for that it was notorious that the ſayd *Edmund*, was neyther eldeſt ſonne to King *Henry* the thyrd (as it was plainely declared by an acte of Parlament) nor yet a miſſhapen and deformed perſon: but a goodly Gentleman, and valiant commaunder in the field, and ſo fauoured of the King his Father, that hee gaue him both the heritages and honours of *Simone Mountfort* Earle of Leiceſter, of *Ferrare* Earle of Darby, and of *Iohn* Barron of Monmuthe, who to theyr owne ruine and deſtruction, had deſplaied ſeditious enſignes againſt the King. And further to aduaunce him to the marriage of *Blanch* Queene of Nauerne, he created him the firſt Earle of Lancaſter, and gaue vnto him the coun-

ry,

ty, Caſtle, and towne of Lancaſter, with the Forreſtes of Wireſdale, Lounſdale, Newcaſtle beneath Linne, the Manner, Caſtle and Forreſt of Pickering, the Manner of Scaleby, the towne of Gomeceſter, of Huntendone, &c. with many large priuiledges, and high titles of honour.

Therefore King *Henry* vpon the day of his Coronation, cauſed to be proclaimed, that he claymed the Kingdome of England, firſt by right of conqueſt: Secondly, becauſe King *Richard* had reſigned his eſtate, and deſigned him for his ſucceſſour: Laſtly, becauſe he was of the bloud royall, and next heyre male vnto King *Richard*.

Hæres malus indeed (quoth *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of March vnto his ſecret friends) and ſo is the Pirate to the Marchant, when hee deſpoyleth him of all that hee hath. This *Edmund* was ſonne to *Roger Mortimer* who was not long before ſlaine in Ireland, and had been openly declared heyre apparent to the Crowne, in caſe King *Richard* ſhould dye without iſſue; as deſcended by his Mother *Philip*, from Lionell Duke of Clarence, who was elder brother to *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, King *Henries* Father: and therfore the ſayd *Edmund* thought himſelfe, and in deed was, neerer heyre male to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, then he that by colour of right clayming it, carried it by dynt of force.

But ſuch was the condition of the tyme, that hee ſuppoſed it was vaine, for him to ſtirre, where King *Richard* could not ſtand: Whereupon he deſſembled, eyther that he ſaw his wrong, or that hee regarded it; and choſe rather to ſuppreſſe his title for a time, then by vntimely oppoſing himſelfe, to haue it oppreſſed and depreſſed for euer: to this ende hee withdrewe himſelfe farre from London, to his Lordſhippe of Wigmore, in the Weſt partes of the realme, and there ſetled himſelfe to a priuate and cloſe life: Idlenes and vacancy from publike affaires, he accompted a vertue, and a deepe point of wiſedome to meddle with

nothing, whereof no man was chargeable to yeeld a reckoning. In reuenues he was meane, in apparell moderate, in company and traine not exceſſiue, (yet in all theſe honourable and according to his degree) ſo that they which eſteemed men by outward appearance only, could ſee in him no great ſhew, eyther of wit and courage in his minde to bee feared, or of wealth and honour in his eſtate to be enuyed. And thus whileſt a greater enemy was feared, he paſſed vnregarded; making himſelfe ſafe by contempt, where nothing was ſo daungerous as a good opinion; and raking vp thoſe coales in obſcuritie for a time, which ſhortly after ſet all the realme on fire.

King *Henrie* preſently after his coronation, created his eldeſt ſonne Lord *Henrie*, being then about xiii. yeares of age, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, and Earle of Cheſter, and ſoone after he created him alſo Duke of Aquitaine. Afterwards it was enacted, by conſent of all the ſtates of the realme, aſſembled together in the Parliament, that the inheritance of the Crownes and Realmes of England and of Fraunce, and of all the dominions to them appertaining, ſhould be vnited and remaine in the perſon of King *Henrie*, and in the heires of his body lawfully begotten: and that Prince *Henrie* his eldeſt ſonne, ſhould bee his heyre apparant, and ſucceſſour in the premiſſes: and if he ſhould dye without lawfull iſſue, then they were entayled to his other ſonnes ſucceſſiuely in order, and to the heyres of their bodyes lawfully begotten.

The inheritance of the Kingdome being in this ſorte ſettled in King *Henrie* and in his line, it was mooued in the Parliament what ſhould be doone with King *Richard*. The Biſhop of Caerliel, who was a man learned and wiſe, and one that alwayes vſed both libertie and conſtancie in a good cauſe; in his ſecret iudgement did neuer giue allowance to theſe proceedings: yet diſſembled his diſlike, vntill he might to ſome purpoſe declare it: therefore now being

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in place to be heard of all, and by order of the house) to be interrupted by none, hee rose vp and with a bold and present spirit, vttered his mind as followeth.

This question (right honourable Lordes) concerneth a matter of great consequence and weight: the determining whereof will assuredly procure, eyther safe quiet, or daungerous disturbance, both to our particular consciences, and also to the common state. Therefore before you resolue vpponit, I pray you call to your considerations these two things: First, whether King *Richard* bee sufficiently deposed or no: Secondly, whether King *Henrie* be with good iudgement or iustice chosen in his place. For the first point we are first to examine, whether a king, being lawfully and fully instituted by any iust title, may vppon imputation eyther of negligence, or of tyrannie, be deposed by his subiects: Secondly, what King *Richard* hath omitted in the one, or committed in the other, for which he should deserue so heauie iudgement. I will not speake what may be doone in a popular state, or in a consular; in which although one beareth the name and honour of a Prince, yet he hath not supreme power of Maiestie; but in the one, the people haue the highest empire; in the other, the Nobilitie, and chiefe men of estate; in neyther, the Prince. Of the first sorte was the common wealth of the Lacedæmonians, who after the forme of gouernement which *Lieurgus* framed, oftentimes fined, oftentimes fettered their Kings, and sometimes condemned them to death: such were also in *Cæsars* time, the petie Kings of euery Citie in Fraunce; who were many times arreigned vpon life and death, and (as *Ambiorix* Prince of the *Leodienses* confessed) had no greater power ouer the people, then the people had ouer them. Of the second condition were the Romaine Emperours at the first; of whome some, namely, *Nero* and *Maximinus* were openly condemned, others were sodainly sur-

Tranquil. in caligula. Tacitus, in proœmio.

ſurpized by iudgement, and authoritie of the Senate: and ſuch are nowe the Emperours of Germany, whome the other Princes by their Ariſtocraticall power, doe not onely reſtrayne, but ſometimes alſo remooue from theyr imperiall ſtate: ſuch are alſo the Kinges of Denmarke, and Sweueland, who are many times by the nobilitye deiected, eyther into pryſon, or into exile: ſuch likewiſe are the Dukes of Venice, and of ſome other free ſtates in Italy: and the chiefeſt cauſe for which *Lewes* Earle of Flanders was lately expelled from his place, was for drawing to himſelfe cogniſance in matters of life and death, which high power neuer pertayned to his dignitie.

In theſe and ſuch like gouernements, the Prince hath not regall rightes, but is himſelfe ſubiect to that power which is greater then his, whether it be in the Nobility or in the common people. But if the Soueraigne Maieſty by in the Prince, as it was in the three firſt Empires, and in the Kingdomes of Iudea and Iſraell; and is now in the kingdomes of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Scotland, Muſcouia, Turky, Tartaria, Perſia, Aethiopia, and almoſt all the Kingdomes of Aſia and Africke: although for his vices he bee vnprofitable to the ſubiectes, yea hurtfull, yea intollerable: yet can they lawfully neyther harme his perſon, nor hazard his power, whether by iudgement, or els by force: for neyther one, nor all Magiſtrates haue any authority ouer the Prince, from whome all authority is deriued, and whoſe onely preſence doeth ſilence, and ſuſpend all inferiour iuriſdiction and power. As for force, what ſubiecte can attempt, or aſſiſt, or counſaile, or conceale violence againſt his Prince, and not incurre the high and heynous crime of treaſon?

It is a common ſaying, thought is free: free indeede from puniſhment of ſecular lawes, except by worde or deed

deed it breake foorth into action: Yet the ſecret thoughts againſt the ſacred maieſty of a Prince, without attempt, without endeuour, haue beene adiudged worthy of death: and ſome who in auriculer confeſſion, haue diſcouered their treacherous deuiſes againſt the perſon of their Prince, haue afterwardes beene executed for the ſame. All lawes doe exempt a madde man from puniſhment: becauſe theyr actions are not gouerned by theyr will and purpoſe: and the will of man being ſet aſide, all his doings are indifferent; neyther can the body offend without a corrupt or erronious minde: yet if a mad man draw hys ſword vpon his King, it hath bin adiudged to deſerue death. And leaſt any man ſhould ſurmiſe that Princes, for the maintenance of theyr owne ſafety and ſoueraignety, are the onely authors of theſe iudgementes; let vs a little conſider the patternes and preceptes of holy Scripture. *Nabuchadnezzer* King of Aſſiria waſted all Paleſtine with fire and ſwoord, oppugned Hieruſalem a long time, and at the laſt expugned it: ſlue the King: burnt the Temple: tooke away the holy veſſelles and treaſure: the reſt hee permitted to the cruelty and ſpoyle of his vnmercifull ſoldiers: who defiled all places with rape and ſlaughter, and ruinated to the ground that flouriſhing Citty: after the glut of this bloudy butchery, the people which remayned, he led Captiue into Chaldæa: and there erected his golden Image, and commaunded that they which refuſed to worſhip it, ſhould bee caſt into a fierye furnace.

What cruelty, what iniuſtice, what impiety is comparable to this? and yet God calleth *Nabuchadnezzer* his ſeruant, and promiſeth him hyre and wages for his ſeruice: and the Prophetes *Ieremiah* and *Baruch* dyd wryte vnto the Iewes to praye for the lyfe of him, and of *Baltaſar* hys Sonne, that theyr dayes myght bee vppon earth as the dayes of Heauen: and *Ezechiel* with

Ierem. 25.9.
Ezech. 29.18.
Ierm. 38.7.
Baruch. 1.11.

with bitter termes abhorreth the disloyalty of *Zedechia*, because he reuolted from *Nabuchadnezzar*, whose homager and tributary he was. What shall we say of *Saul*? did he not put all the Priestes to execution, because one of them did relieue holy and harmelesse *Dauid*? did he not violently persecute that his most faithfull seruant and dutifull Sonne in law? during which pursuite, he fel twice into the power of *Dauid*; who did not onely spare, but also protect the King, and reproued the pretorian souldiers for their negligent watch, and was touched in heart for cutting away the lappe of his garment: and afterwards caused the messenger to be slaine, who vpon request and for pitty, had lent his hand (as he said) to help forward the voluntary death of that sacred King. As for the contrary examples: as that of *Iehu* who slue *Ieboram* and *Ahazia*, Kings of Israell and Iuda: they were done by expresse oracle & reuelation from God, and are no more set downe for our imitation, then the robbing of the Ægyptians, or any other perticuler and priuiledged commaundement, but in the generall precept, which all men must ordinarily follow, not onely our actions, but our speeches also, & our very thoughtes are strictly charged with duty and obedience vnto Princes, whether they be good or euill, the law of God ordaineth: *that he which doth presumptiously against the ruler of the people shall dye*: and the Prophet *Dauid* forbiddeth, to touch the Lords annointed. *Thou shalt not* (saith the Lord) *rayle vpon the iudges, neither speake euill against the ruler of the people.* And the Apostles do demaund further that euen our thoughtes and soules bee obedient to higher powers. And least any should imagine that they meant of good Princes onely, they speake generally of all; and further

So did *Domitian* put to death *Epaphroditus*, *Neroes* libertine, because he helped *Neroe* (although in loue) to kill himselfe. So did *Seuerus* kill all the killers of *Pertinax* his predecessour: and likewise *Vitellius* did put to death all the murtherers of *Galba*. *Theophilus* Emperour of Grecia caused all those to be slaine, who had made his Father Emperour, by killing *Leo Armenus*. And *Alexander* the great put to cruell execution, those that had slaine *Darius*, his mighty and mortall enemy.

Deut. 17. 12. Psal. 105.

Exod. 22. 28. Act. 23. 5.

Rom. 13. 1. 13. Tit. 3. 1. 1. Pet. 2. 13. 14. 17. 1. Tim. 2. 2.

ther to take away all doubt, they make expreſſe mention of the euill. For the power and authoritie of wicked princes is the ordinance of god; and therfore Chriſt told Pilate, that the power which he had was giuen him from aboue; and the Prophet *Eſay* calleth *Cyrus*, being a prophane and heathen Prince, the Lords anoynted. For God ſtirreth vp the ſpirit euen of wicked Princes to doe his will; and (as *Iehoſhaphat* ſayd to his rulers) they execute not the Iudgement of man, but of the Lord: in regard whereof *Dauid* calleth them Gods; becauſe they haue their rule and authority immedyatly from God: which if they abuſe, they are not to bee adiudged by theyr ſubiects, for no power within theyr dominion is ſuperior to theirs: but God reſerueth them to the foreſt tryall: *Horribly and ſodainly* (ſaith the Wiſeman) *will the Lord appeare vnto them, and a hard iudgement ſhall they haue.*

Rom. 13. 2. Iohn 19. 11. Cap. 45. 1. 2. Chron. 36. 22 2. Chron. 19. 6 Pſal. 18. Sap. 6.

The law of God commaundeth, that the Childe ſhould be put to death, for any contumely done vnto the parents: but what if the Father be a robber? if a murtherer? if for all exceſſe of villanyes, odious and execrable both to God and man? ſurely hee deſerueth the higheſt degree of puniſhment, and yet muſt not the Sonne lift vp his hand againſt him, for no offence is ſo great as to be puniſhed by parricide: but our country is dearer vnto vs then our parentes: and the Prince is *pater patriæ*, the Father of our Countrey: and therefore more ſacred and deere vnto vs, then our parentes by nature, and muſt not be violated, how imperious, how impious ſo euer hee bee: doth he commaund or demaund, our perſons or our purſes, we muſt not ſhunne for the one, nor ſhrinke for the other: for (as *Nehemiah* ſaith) *Kinges haue dominion ouer the bodyes and ouer the cattle of their ſubiectes, at their pleaſure.* Doth he enioyne thoſe actions which are contrary to the lawes of God? we muſt neyther wholy obey, nor violently reſiſt, but with a conſtant courage ſubmit our ſelues to all manner of puniſhment, and ſhewe our

Quintil. in declam. Cic. offic. lib. 1. Nehem. 9. 37.

ſubiection by enduring, and not performing: yea the Church hath declared it to bee an hereſie, to holde that a Prince may bee ſlaine or depoſed by his ſubiectes, for any diſorder or default, eyther in life, or elſe in gouernment, there will be faultes ſo long as there are men: and as wee endure with patience a barren yeere, if it happen and vnſeaſonable weather, and ſuch other defectes of nature, ſo muſt wee tollerate the imperfections of rulers, and quietlye expecte, eyther reformation, or elſe a change.

Alphonſ. a caſt in lib. de hæreſi in verb. Tyrannus. Dominic. Soto lib. 5. de iuſt et iur. q. 1. artic. 3.

But alas good King *Richard*, what ſuch cruelry? what ſuch impiety hath he euer committed? examine rightly thoſe imputations which are layde againſt him, without any falſe circumſtance of aggrauation, and you ſhall finde nothing obiected, eyther of any truth, or of great moment. It may bee that many errours and ouerſightes haue eſcaped him, yet none ſo grieuous to bee termed tyranny; as proceeding rather from vnexperienced ignorance, or corrupt counſaile, then from any naturall and wilfull mallice. Oh, howe ſhall the world be peſtered with tirantes, if ſubiectes may rebell vppon euery pretence of tyranny? howe many good Princes ſhall daylye bee ſuppreſſed by thoſe, by whome they ought to bee ſupported? if they leauy a ſubſedy, or any other texation, it ſhall be claymed oppreſſion: if they put any to death for trayterous attempts againſt theyr perſons, it ſhall bee exclaymed cruelty: if they doe any thing againſt the luſt and liking of the people, it ſhall bee proclaimed tyrannie.

But let it be, that without authority in vs, or deſert in him, king *Richard* muſt be depoſed: yet what right had the Duke of Lancaſter to the Crowne? or what reaſon haue wee without his right to giue it to him? if hee make title as heyre vnto king *Richard*, then muſt he yet ſtay vntill king *Richards* death; for no man can ſucceed as heyre to one that liueth.

liueth. But it is well knowne to all men, who are not eyther wilfully blinde or grosely ignorant, that there are some now aliue, lineally descended from Lionell Duke of Clarence, whose offspring was by iudgment of the high Court of Parlament holden the viii. yeere of the raigne of King *Richard*, declared next succeſſour to the Crowne, in case King *Richard* ſhould dye without iſſue. Concerning the tytle from *Edmund Crouchbacke*, I will paſſe it ouer, ſeeing the authors thereof are become aſhamed of ſo abſurde abuſe, both of theyr owne knowledge, and our credulity, and therefore all the clayme is now made, by right of conqueſt; by the ceſſion and graunt of King *Richard*; and by the generall conſent of all the people. It is a bad wooll that can take no colour: but what conqueſt can a ſubiecte pretend againſt his Soueraigne, where the warre is inſurrection, and the victory high and heynous treaſon? as for the reſignation which King *Richard* made, being a pent priſoner for the ſame cauſe; it is an acte exacted by force: and therefore of no force and validity to binde him: and ſeeing that by the lawes of this land, the king alone cannot alienate, the auncient iewels and ornaments pertaining to the Crowne, ſurely hee cannot giue away the Crowne it ſelfe, and therewithall the kingdome.

Neither haue we any cuſtome, that the people at pleaſure ſhould electe theyr king: but they are alwayes bound vnto him, who by right of bloud is next ſucceſſour, much leſſe can they confirme and make good that title, which is before by violence vſurped: for nothing can then be freely doone, when liberty is once reſtrained by feare. So did *Sylla* by terrour of his legions, obtayne the lawe of *Velleius* to bee made, whereby hee was created dictator for foureſcore yeeres: and by like impreſſion of feare, *Cæſar* cauſed the law *Servia* to be promulged, by which he was made perpetuall dictator: but both theſe lawes were afterwardes adiudged void. As for the depoſing of King *Edward* the 2. it is no more

to be vrged, then the poyſoning of King *Iohn*, or the murdering of any other good and lawfull Prince: wee muſt liue according to lawes, and not to examples: and yet the kingdome was not then taken from the lawfull ſucceſſour. But if we looke backe to times lately paſt, we ſhall finde that theſe titles were more ſtronge in King *Stephen*, then they are in the Duke of Lancaſter: for king *Henry* the firſt being at large liberty, neyther reſtrained in body, nor conſtrained in minde, had appointed him to ſucceed: (as it was vppon good credite, certainly affirmed.) The people aſſented to this deſignement; and thereupon without feare, and without force, he was anoynted King, and obtained full poſſeſſion of the realme. Yet *Henry* (Sonne of the Earle of *Anioue*) hauing a neerer right by his mother to the Crowne, (notwithſtanding his father was aſtranger & himſelfe borne beyond the ſeas) rayſed ſuch rough warres vppon King *Stephen*, that there was no end of ſpoyling the goods and ſpilling the bloud of the vnhappy people, beſides the ruynes and deformities of many Cities and holdes; vntill his lawful inheritance was to him aſſured. It terifieth me to remember how many floriſhing Empires, and Kingdomes haue bin by meanes of ſuch contentions eyther torne in peeces with deteſtiue diuiſion, or ſubdued to forren Princes, vnder pretence of aſſiſtaunce and ayde: and I neede not repeate howe ſore this realme hath heeretofore beene ſhaken with theſe ſeuerall miſchieues: and yet neyther the examples of other countries nor the miſeries of our own, are ſufficient to make vs to beware.

O Engliſh men, worſe bewitched then the fooliſh Galathians; our vnſtayed mindes and reſtleſſe reſolutions, doe nothing els but hunt after our owne harmes: no people haue more hatred abroad, and none leſſe quiet at home: in other countries the ſwoord of inuaſion hath been ſhaken aginſt vs: in our owne land, the fire of inſurrection hath bin kindled among vs: & what are theſe innouaſions, but whet-

ſtones

ſtones to ſharpen the one, and bellowes to blow vp the other.

Certainely I feare that the ſame will happen vnto vs which *Aeſope* fableth to haue been fallen vnto the Frogges; who being deſirous to haue a King, a beame was giuen vnto them: the firſt fall whereof did put them in ſome feare, but when they ſaw it lye ſtill in the ſtreame, they inſulted thereon with great contempt, and deſired a king of quicker courage: then was ſent vnto them a Storke, which ſtalking among them with ſtately ſteps, continually deuoured them. The mildneſſe of King *Richard* hath bred in vs this ſcorne, interpreting it to be cowardiſe and dulnes of nature: the next heyre is likewiſe reiected: I will not ſay that wyth greater courage we ſhall finde greater cruelty; but if eyther of theſe ſhall heereafter be able to ſet vp their ſide, and bring the matter to tryal by armes, I doe aſſuredly ſay, that which part ſoeuer ſhall carry the fortune of the field, the people both wayes muſt goe to wracke. And thus haue I declared my minde concerning this queſtion, in more wordes then your wiſedom, yet fewer then the weight of the cauſe doth require: and doe boldly conclude, that wee haue neyther power nor policy, eyther to depoſe king *Richard*, or to elect Duke *Henrie* in his place; that king *Richard* remaineth ſtill our Soueraigne Prince, and therefore it is not lawfull for vs to giue iudgement vpon him; that the Duke whom you call king, hath more offended againſt the king and the realme, then the king hath done, eyther againſt him or vs; for being baniſhed the realme for ten yeres by the king and his counſaile (amongſt whom his owne Father was chiefe) and ſworne not to returne againe without ſpeciall lycenſe: he hath not onely violated his oath, but with impious armes diſturbed the quiet of the land, and diſpoſſeſſed the Kyng from his royall eſtate, and now demaundeth iudgement againſt his perſon, without offence proued, or defence heard: if this iniury, and this periury doth nothing moue vs, yet let

both

both our priuate and common dangers ſomwhat withdraw vs from theſe violent proceedings.

This ſpeach was diuerſlie taken, as men were diuerſly affected betweene feare, hope, and ſhame: yet the moſt parte did make ſhew for king *Henrie*, and therevpon the Biſhop was preſently attached by the Earle Marſhall, and committed to priſon in the Abbey of S. Albones. Whoſe counſaile and coniecture then contemned, was afterwardes better thought vpon; partly in the life time of King *Henrie*, during whoſe raigne, almoſt no yeare paſſed without great ſlaughters and executions: but more eſpecially in the times ſucceeding, when within the ſpace of xxxvi. yeares, twelue ſet battailes vpon this quarrell were fought within the realme by Engliſh men only: and more then foureſcore Princes of the royall bloud ſlaine one by another.

Then itwas concluded, that king *Richard* ſhould be kept in a large priſon, with all manner of Princely maintenance: and if any perſons ſhould conſpire, to reare warr for his deliuerance, that he ſhould be the firſt man who ſhould ſuffer death for that attempt. Then the Actes of the Parlament holden at Weſtminſter, in the xi. yeare of King *Richard*, were reuiued; and the Parlament houlden the xxi. yeare of king *Richard* was wholy repealed: and they who were attainted by that Parlament, were reſtored againe to their fame and honour, and to their landes without ſuing lyuerie, and to ſuch goods wherof the King was not anſvvered; except the rents and iſſues vvhich had bin receiued out of their lands in the meane time. Herevpon *Richard* Earle of Warvvicke vvas deliuered out of priſon, and the Earle of Arundelles ſonne recouered his inheritance: many others alſo that vvere baniſhed or impriſoned by King *Richard*, vvere then fullye reſtored againe, to their Countrie, libertie, and eſtate.

It vvas further prouided, that none of thoſe vvhich came in ayde of King *Henrie* againſt King *Richard*, ſhould for that

that cauſe be impeached or troubled. Alſo the King gaue to the Earle of Weſtmerland the Countie of Richmond, & to the Earle of Northumberland he gaue the Ile of Man, to be houlden of him by the ſeruice of bearing the ſworde, wherewith he entred into England. Diuers other of his followers he aduanceth to offices of higheſt place and charge, ſome vpon iudgement and for deſert, but moſt part to win fauour, and perhappes proiecting a plot for friends, if times ſhould change: for in many actions men take more care to preuent reuenge, then to leade an innocent and harmleſſe life.

It was further agreed, that the procurers of the death and murther of *Thomas* late Duke of Glouceſter, ſhould be ſearched out and ſeuerelie puniſhed. And iudgement was giuen againſt the appellants of the Earle of Warwicke and the Earle of Arundell, that the Dukes of Aumerle, Suſſex, and Exceter, the Marqueſſe of Dorſet, and the Earle of Glouceſter who were preſent, ſhould looſe their degree of honour for them and their heyres: that they ſhould likewiſe looſe all the Caſtles, Mannors, Lordſhippes, &c. then in their hands which ſometimes apperteined to thoſe whom they did appeale, and that all the letters patents & charters which they had cõcerning the ſame, ſhould be ſurrendred into the Chãcerie, and there be cancelled: that for all other their Caſtles, Manors, Lordſhips, poſſeſſions, and liberties, they ſhould be at the grace and mercie of the King: that they ſhould giue no liueries, nor keepe any retinue of men, but onely ſuch officers as were meerelie neceſſarie for their degree: that if any of them ſhould adhere to *Richard* the depoſed King, in giuing him ayde or encouragement, againſt the iudgement of his depoſition, then he ſhould incurre the paines and forfeitures of high treaſon. And becauſe it was a clamorous complaint amoug the common people, that many officers had committed greeuous extortions and wrongs, eyther by the open maintenance or ſecret conniuence of theſe Lords

Firſt

Firſt thoſe officers were remooued, and that corruption taken away with integritie, which briberie had wrought, in placing (for money) men of bad qualitie, in high degrees of office and ſeruice: then proclamations were made, that if any man had been oppreſſed by theſe Lords, or by any officers vnder them, he ſhould prooue his complaint, and receiue recompence. It was made a queſtion whether it was not meete that theſe noble men ſhould be put to death: the importunity of the people, & the perſwaſion of many great men drew that way, but policie was againſt it, and eſpecially the opinion of clemencie, which ſeemed needfull to the ſetling of a new riſen ſtate.

In this parlament alſo the Lorde *Fitzwater* appealed the ſayd Duke of Aumerle, ſonne to the Duke of Yorke, vpon points of high treaſon: likewiſe the Lord *Morley* appealed *Iohn Montacute* Earle of Saliſburie, and more then twentie other appellants waged battaile; but the king purpoſing to lay the foundation of his realme by fauour and not by force, gaue pardon and reſtitution alike to all, vppon ſureties and band for their alleageance: and in a ſweet and moderate oration, he admoniſheth, and as it were intreated the one part, that ould griefes and grudges ſhould not be renued, but buried together with the memorie of former times, wherein men were forced to doe many things againſt their mindes: the other part he deſired to be more regardfull of their actions afterward, & for the time paſt, rather to forget that euer they were in fault, then to remember that they were pardoned. No puniſhment was laide vppon any, ſaue onely the Earle of Saliſburie and the Lord Morley, who had beene in eſpeciall grace and fauour with King *Richard*: theſe two were committed to priſon, but at the ſute of their friends they were ſoone releaſed: the reſt the King receiued freelye to fauour, but moſt eſpecially the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exceſter, Lord Gouernour of Calice. The Duke of Aumerle was couſen germane to both the kings: *Iohn Holland*

laud Duke of Exeter, was halfe brother to king *Richard*, and brother in lawe to King *Henrie*; whoſe ſiſter, the Lady *Elizabeth* he had taken to wife. The greateſt matter that was enforced againſt them, was their loialtie vnto King *Richard*: (a grieuous crime among rebels) becauſe they did not only ſtomacke and ſtorme at his deiection, but ſtirre alſo more then others, and aſſaye to raiſe forces on his behalfe. The Dukes bouldly confeſſed the accuſation, that they were indeed vnfortunately faithfull to King *Richard*; but as thoſe who once are falſe, doe ſeldome afterwards prooue ſoundly firme, ſo they that haue ſhewed themſelues true to one prince may the better be truſted by any other. The King did rather admit this as a defence, then remit it as a fault: affirming, that ſuch examples were not to be miſliked of Princes: ſo he entred with them into great termes of friendſhip; and put them in place neereſt his perſon, endeauouring by courteſie and liberalitie, to make them faſt and faithfull vnto him: this fact was diuerſly enterpreted, according to mens ſeueral diſpoſitions, ſome admiring the kings moderation, others diſliking and diſallowing his confidence; and indeed although theſe meanes haue to this purpoſe preuailed with ſome, yet the cõmon courſe may mooue vs commonly to coniecture, that there is little aſſurance in reconciled enemies: whoſe affections (for the moſt part) are like vnto Glaſſe; which beeing once cracked, can neuer be made otherwiſe then crazed and vnſound.

Furthermore, to qualifie all preiudice and hard opinion which other princes might chaunce to conceiue, King *Henrie* diſpatched Embaſſadours to diuers countries neere vnto him, to make it knowne by what title, and by what fauour and deſire of all the people he atteyned the kingdome. To the court of Rome hee ſent *Iohn Trenenant* Biſhop of Hereford, Sir *Iohn Cheyney* Knight, and Iohn *Cheyney* Eſquire: into Fraunce hee ſent *Walter Shirlowe* Biſhop of Durham, and Lord *Thomas Pearcy*, Earle of Worceſter: into Spaine

he ſent *Iohn Trenor* Biſhop of S. Aſſaphes, and ſir *William Parre* and into Almaine he ſent the Biſhop of Bangor, and certaine other. Moſt of theſe Princes (as in a matter which little concerned eyther their honour or their harme) ſeemed eyther not to regarde what was doone, or eaſely to bee perſwaded that all was done well. But *Charles* King of Fraunce, was ſo diſtempered at this diſhonourable dealing with his ſonne in lawe King *Richard*, that by violence of his paſſion, he fell into his oulde panges of phrenſie: and at the laſt by helpe of Phiſicke returning to the ſobrietie of his ſences, he purpoſed to make ſharpe warre vpon that diſloyall people (as he termed them) for this iniurie againſt their lawfull and harmleſſe Prince. Many noble men of Fraunce ſhewed themſelues verye forwarde to enter into the ſeruice, but eſpecially the Earle of Saint *Paule*, who had maryed King *Richards* halfe Siſter. So letters of defiance were ſent into England, and great preparation was made for the warre.

Likewiſe the newes of theſe nouelties much abaſhed the Aquitanes (who were at that time vnder the Engliſh ſubiection) and plunged their thoughts in great perplexities. Some were grieued at the infamous blemiſh of the Engliſh nation, who had deſteyned their honour with the ſpot of ſuch diſloyall dealing: others feared the ſpoyle of their goods, and oppreſſion of their liberties by the Frenchmen; againſt whoſe violence they ſuſpected that the realme of England, beeing diſtracted into ciuill factions, eyther would not attend, or ſhould not be able to beare them out: but the Citizens of Burdeaux were chiefely anguiſhed in reſpect of King *Richard*, partlie fretting at his iniurie, and partlie lamenting his infortunitie; becauſe hee was borne and brought vppe within their Cittie. And thus in the violence, ſome of their anger, ſome of their griefe, and ſome of their feare, in this ſort they did generally complaine.

O good

O good God (ſayd they) where is the world become? ſaintes are turned to Serpents, and Doues into diuels. The Engliſh nation which hath been accompted fierce onely againſt their foes, and alwayes faithfull to their friends; are now become both fierce and faithleſſe againſt their lawfull and louing Prince, nnd haue moſt barbarouſlie betrayed him. Who would euer haue thought that Chriſtians, that ciuill people, that any men, would thus haue violated all religion, all lawes, and all honeſt and orderlie demeanure? And although the heauens bluſh at the view, and the earth ſweat at the burthen of ſo vile a villanie, and all men proclaime and exclaime vpon ſhame and confuſion againſt them: yet they neither feele the horrour, nor ſhrinke at the ſhame, nor feare the reuenge; but ſtand vpon tearmes, ſome of defence for the lawfulneſſe of their dealing, and ſome of excuſe for the neceſſitie. Well, let them be able to blinde the worlde, and to reſiſt mans reuenge; yet ſhall they neuer be able to eſcape eyther the ſight or vengeance of Almightie God; which we daily expect, and earneſtly deſire to be powred vpon them. Alas good King *Richard*, thy nature was too gentle, and thy gouernement too milde for ſo ſtiffe and ſtubborne a people: what King wil euer repoſe auy truſt in ſuch vnnaturall ſubiectes, but fetter them with Lawes as theeues are with Irons? What carriage heereafter can recouer their credite? What time wyll bee ſufficient to blotte out this blemiſh? What other action could they haue doone, more ioyfull to their enemyes, more woefull to their friendes, and more ſhamefull to themſelues? Oh corruption of time? Oh conditions of men.

The Frenchmen were nothing diſcontented at this diſcontentment of the Aquitanes; ſuppoſing that opportunitie was then offred, to get into their poſſeſſion the Dutchie of Guian, if either power or pollicie were thereto applyed. Hereupon *Lewes* Duke of Burbon came downe

to Angiers, who from thence ſent many meſſengers to the chiefe cities of Guian, and by faire ſpeeches and large promiſes, ſolicited the people to change alleageance: on the contrarie ſide, ſir *Robert Knowles* Lieutenant of Guian, endeuoured with all diligence to repreſſe the mutinous, to ſtay the doubtfull, to confirme the good, and to retteine all in order and obedience: but he profited very little, whether by the weakeneſſe of his owne arme, or ſtiffe necke of the people it is not certainely aſſured. Neither did the Duke of Burbone much preuaile, when it was conſidered, how ponderous the yoake of Fraunce was aboue the Engliſh ſubiection: for all men were wel acquainted with what tributes and taxations the Frenchmen were charged, hauing in euerye countrie Lieutenants and Treaſurours aſſigned, the one to drawe the bloud, the other the ſubſtance of the ſlauiſh ſubiects, whoſe crueltie and couetouſneſſe laide holde without exception vppon all, the one tormenting by force, and the other vndooing by lawe. Thus ſtood the Aquitanes vppon tickle tearmes betweene obedience and reuolt, as a ſhippe which the winde driueth one way, and the tide another: deſirous they were to diſpleaſe the Engliſh, but loath to endanger and vndoe themſelues.

Vppon aduertiſement whereof, King *Henrie* ſent into Guian the Lord *Thomas Percie* Earle of Worceſter, whom he knew to bee faithfull vnto him, and expert in matters of charge, hauing in his companie a ſtrong and ſeruiceable band of Souldiers: who not by vnſeaſonable exprobating their fault, but by reaſon conuincing it, partlye with his wiſdome and credite ſo perſwaded, and partlye with his authoritie and forces ſo terrified the wauering people, that he wanne them to his opinion, and confirmed them in their alleageance; the grauer ſorte with reſpect of dutie and faith, the reſt with regarde and feare of daunger. Then he receiued oathes of obedience vnto King *Henrye*, and planted certaine ſtrong garriſons in places of chiefe

chiefe import, without moleſtation if they remained quiet, and yet of force to repreſſe them if they ſhould rebell. This done, he returned againe into England, where hee ſhewed an excellent example of moderation, in ſeeming rather to haue found then to haue made the Aquitanes dutifull ſubiectes.

No ſooner could this ſtir be ſtinted, but another more daungerous and deſparate did foorthwith arife: for diuerſe noble men who eyther had diſſembled, or did repent the furtherance that they vſed to the aduauncement of King *Henrie*, did conſpire together to compaſſe his deſtruction: the hyſtories of that time doe vary, concerning the cauſes of this conſpiracy; whether it were for fauour to King *Richard*, as the nature of man is inclinable to beholde ſodaine miſfortune with a pittifull eye; or for enuy to King *Henrie*, as commonly we can endure exceſſiue fortune, no where ſo little as in thoſe that haue beene in equall degree with our ſelues: or whether vpon diſhonours receiued in the late Parlament, or vpon diſdaine to ſee others goe before them in the Princes fauour, many ſought to reuenge theyr vniuſt anger with lewde diſloyaltie: likewiſe it is not aſſuredly knowne by what meanes the workers thereof were drawne together, and the ſecret deuiſes of ſome imparted to the reſt: wherher one of them did perſwade another to enter into the action, or whether all were induced by the ſame vnconſtant diſpoſition and light account of faith: which being once falſed to King *Richard*, was afterwardes vpon euery light diſcontentment, lyttle reſpected to any: but concerning theſe matters, the moſt current report is this.

There was at that time an Abbot of Weſtminſter, one that applyed his ſtudies, not as the moſt part, to cloake idleneſſe and ſlouth vnder the glorious tytle of religion, but to enable himſelfe for counſaile and direction in publique affayres: who for the generall opinion of his wiſedome

and integritie, was in good fauour and credit with King *Richard*, and did accompany him in his laſt voyage into Ireland.

This Abbot called to his remembrance, a ſpeach which hee heard once fall from King *Henrie*, when hee was but Earle of Derbie, and not yet come to any great ſtayednesſe, eyther in yeares or iudgement; that Princes had too little, and religious men too much.

At that time the riches of the church were growne ſo great, that many began to looke vpon them with an enuious eye; but leaſt couetouſneſſe ſhould ſhew it ſelfe with open face, policie was pretended, and the exceſſe thought daungerous, both to the King and alſo to the cleargy; as verie like to cauſe want to the one, and wantonneſſe in the other.

Hereupon many billes had beene put vppe in the parlaments houlden in the reigne of King *Richard*, that prouiſion might be made to repreſſe the increaſe of religious poſſeſſions: namely, that inquiſition and redreſſe might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons, as vnder the licence to purchaſe ten pounds yearlie, did purchaſe foureſcore, or a hundred pounds: and alſo againſt ſuch religious perſons as cauſed their villaines to take to their wiues free women inheritable, whereby the landes came to thoſe religious mens hands: yea it was mooued in open Parlament, that the king ſhould ſeaze into his hands, all the temporall liuings of religious houſes, as beeing rather a burthen then a benefite vnto religion.

Vppon theſe and the like petitions, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Archbiſhop of Yorke, for themſelues and the Cleargie of their Prouinces, were oftentimes compelled to make their ſolemne proteſtations in open Parlament, that if any thing were attempted in reſtraint of the libertie of the Church, they would in no wiſe aſſent but vtterlie withſtand the ſame: the which their proteſta-

tions

tions they required to be enrouled.

So partly vpon loue to King *Richard*, and partly vppon feare, leaſt King *Henry* would bee as ready to inuade, as hee was to enueigh againſt the richeſſe of religious houſes: this Abbot was the firſt man that blewe the coales, and put fewell to the fire of this confederacy. And firſt hee obſerued a farre off, then hee ſearched more neerely and narrowly (and yet warely too) howe the myndes of certaine Noble men were affected, or rather infected againſt King *Henry*; tempering his ſpeeches in ſuch ſorte, that if matters ſorted to his minde, hee myght take them vpon him, if his courſes were croſſed, hee myght cleerely diſclayme them: at laſt hee inuited to his houſe vppon a daye, in Michaelmas teime, thoſe whome hee had ſounded to bee moſte ſounde for his purpoſe: the chiefe of whome were ſuch as in the Parlament before had in ſome ſorte beene touched in reputation, although by pardon and reconcilement the harme did ſeeme to bee cloſed vp: theyr names were *Iohn Holland* Duke of Exceter, of whome mention hath beene made before, *Thomas Holland* his brothers Sonne, Duke of Surrey, *Edward* Duke of Armele, *Iohn Montacute* Earle of Salisbury, *Hugh Spencer* Earle of Gloceſter, *Iohn* Biſhoppe of Caerliele, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Magdalen* one of King *Richards* Chappell, who in all pointes both of feature and fauour, ſo neerely reſembled King *Richard*, that the Lordes diſſembled afterwardes that hee was King *Richard* indeede.

Theſe and ſome others were highly feaſted by the Abbot: and after dinner they withdrewe themſelues, into a ſecret Chamber to counſaile: heere the Duke of Exceter, who was moſte hotly bent eyther to reſtore, or to reuenge the cauſe of his depoſed brother, declared vnto the reſt, the alleageance that they had ſworne vnto King *Richard*: the honours and preferments whereunto they

were

were by him aduanced: that therefore they were bounde both in conſcience by the one, and in kindneſſe by the other, to take his part againſt all men: that King *Henrie* contrary to both, had diſpoyled him of his royall dignitie, and vniuſtly poſſeſſed himſelfe thereof, whileſt they ſtood looking on, and ſhewed neyther the obedience of ſubiectes, nor loue of friendes, as though they were men who knewe to doe any thing, better then to defend, and if neede were to dye for their lawful Prince and louing patron: that King *Henrie* by violent inuading, or fraudulent inſinuating himſelfe, into the Kingdome of his naturall and leige Prince, was but a tyrant, and vſurper, and ſuch a one as it was lawfull for any man, by any meanes to throw downe, without reſpect whether he were a good man or euill, for it is lawfull for no man, vpon pretence and ſhewe of goodneſſe to draw ſoueraignty vnto himſelfe: that the lawes and examples of beſt gouerned common wealths, did not onely permit this action but highly honoured it with ſtatues and garlandes, and tytles of nobility, and alſo rewarded it with all the wealth of the ſuppreſſed tyrant: that this enterprize would be very profitable, and almoſt neceſſarie to the common wealth, by extinguiſhing thoſe warres which the Scots menaced, the Frenchmen prepared, and the Welſhmen had already begun vpon this occaſion and quarrell: that hee did not diſtruſt but it might be accompliſhed by open armes, but he thought it more ſure for them, and for the common wealth more ſafe, to put firſt in prooſe ſome ſecret policie: and to that purpoſe he deuiſed, that a ſolemne Iuſtes ſhould be challenged, to be kept at Oxforde, in Chriſtmaſſe holydayes, betweene him and twentie on his part, and the Earle of Salisburie and twentie on his part, to which king *Henrie* ſhould be inuited: and when he was moſt intentiue in regarding their militarie diſport, he ſhould ſodainly be ſurprized by men, which without ſuſpition might at that time bee aſſembled, both for number and preparation ſufficient for the exploit,

exployt, and thereby King *Richard* presently be restored, both to his liberty, and to his state.

This deuise was no sooner vttered, then allowed and applauded of the rest of the confederates: and so resoluing vpon the enterprize, they tooke an oath vpon the Euangelistes, the one to bee true and secret to the other, euen to the houre and point of death: the Lords also made an Indenture sextipartite wherein they bound themselues, to doe their best assay, for the death of the one king and deliuerance of the other: this they sealed and subscribed, and deliuered to euery Lord a counter-pane of the same: and further they concluded what forces should be gathered, by whom, howe they should be ordred and placed, and to whose trust the execution should be committed.

When all thinges were thus contriued, and theyr hungry ambitious mindes were well filled with the vaine winds of hope and desire: the Duke of Exceter came to the King at Windsore, and desired him for the loue that hee bare to the noble feates of Cheualry, that hee would vouchsafe to honour with his presence the martiall exercise, that was appointed betweene him and the Earle of Salisbury, and to be the iudge of their performances if any controuersie should arise.

The king supposing that to be intended indeed, which was pretended in shew, easily yeelded to his request. The Duke supposing his purpose now halfe performed, departed to his house, and so did the other confederates: where they busily bestirred themselues, in raysing men, and preparing horse and armour for the accomplishment of thys acte.

When the Dutchesse of Exceter, king *Henries* Sister, perceiued the drift of the deuise, and saw that the Duke was vppon his iourney: alas good Lady howe was shee distracted in minde, with a sharpe conflicte of her conceiptes?

one waye ſhe was moued with nature towardes her brother; another waye ſhee was more ſtrongly ſtirred, with loue towards her Lord and husband; and both wayes ſhee was deuided in dutie. And what (ſayd ſhee) is this loue then againſt nature? or aboue it? ſhall I bee vndutifull to my Prince? or is no dutie comparable to the dutie of a wife? heigh ho: in what perplexities (wretched woman) am I plunged, to ſee my two deereſt friends in this caſe of extremitie, that (it is doubtfull which but) certainlie one muſt be ruined by the other. Heerewith ſuch a ſhower of teares ſtreamed downe her cheekes, that it drowned her ſpeech, and ſtopped the paſſage of further complaint: which when the Duke eſpyed, hee ſtepped vnto her, and ſeazing ſoftlie vppon her hand, vſed theſe words. What Beſſe? is it kindneſſe to me or kindred to your brother that thus hath ſet your eyes on floate? Content your ſelfe woman, for whatſoeuer the euent ſhall be, it cannot be euill to you, nor worſe to me then now it is. For if my purpoſe preuaile, and my brother bee reſtored againe to his crowne, both of vs ſhall be ſure neuer to decline: if it bee preuented, and your brother continue ſtill in his eſtate, no harme ſhall be doone vnto you, and I ſhall be then ſure of that deſtruction which I doe now continually dread: the feare whereof in expecting, is a greater torment then the paine in ſuffering. When hee had thus ſaide, hee kiſſed her, and ſo leauing her to the torture of a thouſaud thornie thoughts, he tooke his iorney towards Oxforde, with a great company both of Archers and Horſemen. There he found all the reſt of his complices, well armed and banded, except onely the Duke of Aumerle.

The King alſo hearing that both the Challengers and defendants were in a readineſſe, determined the daye following to ride to Oxforde, according to his promiſe and appointment.

Now

Now the confederates much maruailed at the ſtay of the Duke of Aumerle, ſome onely blamed his ſlackneſſe, others began to ſuſpect it, euery man coniectured as he was diuerſly affected betweene confidence and feare: and in this confuſion of opinions, they ſent vnto him in poſte, to know the certaine truth. Before the meſſenger came to the Duke, hee was departed from Weſtminſter towards Oxford, not the direct way, but went firſt to ſee his Father the Duke of York, and carried with him his counterpane of the Indenture of confederacy. As they ſate at dinner, the Father eſpied it in his boſome, and demaunded what it was? the Sonne himbly craued pardon, and ſaid that it nothing touched him, by S. George (quoth the Father) but I will ſee it: and ſo whether vpon a precedent iealoſie, or ſome preſent cauſe of ſuſpition, he tooke it away from him by force. When he perceiued the contents, he ſodainely aroſe from the table, & with great fierceneſſe both of countenance and ſpeech, vttered to his Sonne theſe wordes.

I ſee traytor, that idleneſſe hath made thee ſo wanton and mutinous, that thou playeſt with thy faith, as children doe with ſtickes: thou haſt been once already faithleſſe to King *Richard*, & now again art falſe to King *Henry*, ſo that like the fiſh *Sepia*, thou troubleſt all the waters wherin thou liueſt. Thou knoweſt that in open Parlament I became ſuretie and pledge for thy alleageance, both in bodye and goods: and can neither thy dutie, nor my deſert reſtreine thee, from ſeeking my deſtruction? in faith, but I will rather helpe forward thine. With that hee commaunded his Horſes to bee made readie, and preſentlye tooke his iorneye towardes Windſore, where the King then laye.

The Duke of Aumerle had no time eyther to conſulte with his friends, or to conſider with himſelfe what was beſt to bee doone: but taking aduiſe vppon the ſodaine,

he mounted likewiſe on horſebacke, and poſted towardes Windſore another way. It was no neede to force him forwarde, his youthfull bloud, and his ſodaine daunger were in ſteed of two winges, to keepe his horſe in *Pegaſus* pace: ſo that he came to Windſore, & was alighted at the Caſtell, before his ſtiffe aged Father could come neere. Then hee entred the gates, and cauſed them to be ſurely locked, and tooke the Keyes into his owne hands, pretending ſome ſecret cauſe for which he would deliuer them vnto the King. When he came in preſence, hee kneeled downe and humblie craued of the King mercie and forgiueneſſe. The king demaunded for what offence? Then with a confuſed voice, and ſad countenance, caſting downe his eyes as altogether abaſhed, partly with feare of his daunger, and partly with ſhame of his diſcredit; he declared vnto the King all the manner of the conſpiracie. The King ſeemed neither raſhlie to beleeue, nor negligentlie to diſtruſt the Dukes report; neyther ſtood it with pollicie to enterteine the diſcouerie with any hatefull and violent vſage: therefore with gracious ſpeeches he comforted the Duke, and if this bee true, ſayd he, we pardon you: if it be feined, at your extreame perill be it.

By this time the Duke of Yorke was rapping at the Caſtle gates, and being admitted to the Kings preſence, he deliuered to him the endenture of confederacie, which hee had taken from his ſonne. When the King had redde it, and was thereby perſwaded of the trueth of the matter, he was not a little diſquieted in minde, complaining of the vnconſtant diſpoſition of thoſe men, whom neyther crueltie (he ſaid) could make firme to King *Richard*, nor clemencie to him; but vppon diſlike of euery preſent gouernment, they were deſirous of any change. So being poſſeſſed with deeper thoughts then to gaze vppon games, he layde his iorney aſide, and determined to atend at Windſor, what courſe

his

his enemies would take, and which waye they would set forward: knowing right well that in ciuill tumults, an aduised patience, and opportunitie well taken, are the only weapons of aduantage; and that it is a speciall point of wisdome, to make benefit of the enemies follie. In the meane time he directed his letters to the Earle of Northumberland his high Constable, and to the earle of Cumberland his high Marshall, and to others his most assured friends, concerning these sodaine and vnexpected accidents.

The confederates all this time hearing nothing of the Duke of Aumerle, and seeing no preparation for the Kings comming, were out of doubt that their treason was betraied. And now considering that once before they had beene pardoned, the guilt of this their rebellion, excluded them from all hope of further mercie: whereupon they became desperate, and so resolued to prosecute that by open armes, wherein their priuie practises had failed. And first they apparrelled *Magdalen* (a man verie like to King *Richard* both in stature and countenance, and of yeares not disagreeable) in princely attire, and gaue foorth that hee was King *Richard*, and that either by fauour or negligence of his keepers, he was escaped out of prison, and desired the faith and ayde of his louing subiects. Then they determined to dispatche messengers to *Charles* King of Fraunce, to desire his helpe and assistance on the behalfe of his sonne in lawe, if need should require.

The common people, which commonly are soone changable, and on the sodaine, as prone to pittie as they were before excessiuely cruell, most earnestlie wished the enlargement of King *Richard*, and earnestly wishing, did easely beleeue it: in which imaginarie conceit, being otherwise men of no deepe search, the presence of *Magdalene* most stronglie confirmed them, and so either vpon ignorance of truth, or delight in trouble, they ioyned themselues in great troops

to the Lords: desiring nothing more then to be the meanes whereby King *Richard* should be restored, as in a manner resuming their first affections and humors towards him. Then the lords of this association with great force, but with greater fame, as the manner is of matters vnknowne, aduanced forward in battaile arraye towards Windsore, against King *Henrie*, as against an enemie of the common state, hauing in theyr company aboue fortie thousand armed men. The King vpon intelligence of theyr aproache, secretlye with a few horse, the next Sunday night after Newyeres day, departed from Windsore to the Tower of London, and the same night before it was daye, the confederates came to the Castle of Windsore: where missing their expected praye, they stood doubtfull and deuided in opinions, which waye to bend their course. Some aduised them with all speede to follow the King to London, and not to leaue him any leaue and libertie, to vnite an armie against them: that Winter was no let but in idle and peaceable times: that in ciuill discentions nothing is more safe then speede, and greater aduantage alwayes groweth by dispatching then deferring: that whilest some were in feare, some in doubt, and some ignorant, the Citie, yea the realme might easilye be possessed: and that many armies whose furie at the first rush could not be resisted by delayes did weare out, and waste to nothing. Others who would seeme to by considerate and wise, but in verye deede were noe better then dastardes, perswaded rather to set King *Richard* first at libertie, for if their counterfeiting should bee discouered before they possessed themselues of his person, the people vndoubtedly would fall from them to the certaine confusion of them all. Here vppon they gaue ouer the pursuite, and retired to Colebrooke, and there delayed out the time of dooing, in deliberating, beeing neyther courageouslye quicke, nor considerately stayed, but faintlie and fearefullye shrincking backe:

backe: and when they once beganne to relent, they decreased euerye daye more and more both in power and in hope.

King *Henrie* the next morning after hee was come to the Tower, sent to the Maior of the Citie to put Souldiours in armes for his assistance, who presentlye presented vnto him three thousand Archers, and three thousand bill men, besides those that were appointed for defence of the Citie. The King spent vpon him many godd speeches, and liberally loaded him with promises and thanks; and soone after he issued out of London, with twenty thousand tall men, and came to Hounslowe Heath, abiding there, and as it were daring his enemyes to ioyne issue in the field: contemning theyr disorderlye multitude, as a vaine terrour of names without forces. But the confederates eyther for feare of the Kings power, or for distrust of theyr owne, or else lingring, perhappes, after some succour out of Fraunce, refused the encounter, and doubtfull it is whether they shewed greater courage in setting vp the danger, or cowardise in declining it when it was presented vnto them.

So they departed from Colebrooke to Sunnings, a place neere Redding, where Queene *Isabell*, King *Richards* wife did then abyde: to whom vppon the plaine trueth before declared, fame had fallsye descanted, that King *Richard* was escaped out of prison, and did lye at Pomfret with a hundred thousand armed men; and that King *Henrie* for feare of him, was fledde with his children and friendes to the Tower of London. All which was lightlye beleeued as it was vainlye toulde: wherevppon shee defaced King *Henries* armes, and plucked away his cognisance from those his seruants that attended vppon her; and hauing in some sorte satisfied her womanhish anger, with this harmeleſſe spight, shee and the

Lords

Lordes departed together first to Wellingforde, and from thence to Abington, stirring the people by the way to take armour, and to rise in ayde of King *Richard*, who was (saide they) and is, and should be their Prince.

At the last they came to Chichester, and there the Lordes tooke their lodgings, the Duke of Surrey and the Earle of Salisburie in one Inne; the Duke of Exceter and the Earle of Glouceſter in another; and all the hoast encamped in the fields. But the Bayliffe of the towne, suspecting all this countenance to be but the vaine flashe of a false fire, did in the night with about foure score Archers, beset and set vpon the house where the Duke of Surrey and the Earle of Salisburie laye: who were men but of weake resistance by nature, but being put vpon necessitie, shewed great manhood and persistance in defending themselues against the townsmen. The Duke of Exceter and the Earle of Glouceſter being in another Inne, were not able by force to rescue their associates; whereupon a certaine Priest of their companye set diuers houses in the towne on fire, supposing thereby to diuert the townsmen from their assault, to the saving of their houses and of their goods: but this fire greatly inflamed their furie, and made them more obstinate in their attempt; crying out that they would neuer labour to rescue their losses, but to reuenge them; and that with the bloud of the Lords, whose flames should be quenched. Then there arose confused clamours and noyses, all the towne being in an vproare and in armes, shooting fiercelie and running vpon the Lords with a rashe and desperate rage; not caring to loose many, whereof they had many to spare.

When the Earle of Exceter and they that were with him perceiued the force of the assaylants daungerouslie to encrease, and that it was impossible for a few to susteine the furie of so many so obstinately bent: they fledde out of the backeside towards the campe, intending to bring the whole armie

army to the reſcue: but the ſoldiers hauing heard a tumult and ſeeing fire within the towne, ſuppoſed that the King was entred with all his puiſance: whereupon being ſtrooke with a ſodaine and falſe feare, and wanting a commaunder of courage to confirme them, they ran away, and diſpearſed themſelues without meaſure; and ſo whileſt euery man endeuoured to ſaue himſelfe, all were brought to their confuſion.

Thus the Duke of Surrey, and the Earle of Salisbury, and the Lords, & Gentlemen which were in their company, were left to defend themſelues againſt the townſemen as they could: who manfullye maintained the fight with great bloudſhed of theyr enemies, from midnight vntill three of the clocke the next day in the after noone: at the laſt, being inferiour both in number and fortune, the Duke and the Earle were wounded to death and taken, and the ſame euening theyr heades were ſtricken off and ſent to London: there were alſo taken Sir *Bennet Shelley*, Sir *Barnard Brokas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and 28. other Lordes, Knights and Gentlemen, who were ſent to Oxford, where the King then lay, and there were put to execution.

The Duke of Exceter when he found the army diſperſed and fled, fled likewiſe with Sir *Iohn Shelley* into Eſſex, lamenting the certaine deſtruction which his raſhneſſe had procured to himſelfe, and to his friends, but moſte eſpecially to King *Richard*; if not as a party, yet as a cauſe of this vnhappy tumult; many times he did attempt to haue eſcaped by ſea into Fraunce, but he was alwayes driuen backe by diſtreſſe of weather; and ſo wandring and lurking in ſecret places, hee was at the laſt attached as hee ſat at ſupper in a certaine friendes houſe, and led to Plaſhy, and there ſhortly after beheaded: ſo that a man might probably coniecture that the death of the Duke of Gloceſter was then brought in reckoning, who by his counſell and contry-

- uance chiefly, in the ſame place had been apprehended. An
- excellent example for all thoſe which meaſure their Acti-
- ons eyther by their pleaſure, or by their power: that re-
- uenge of iniurous dealing, although it be prolonged, yet
- doth neuer faile, but commeth ſurely although perhappes,
- ſlowly. This duke was a man of high parentage, of a franke minde, and wealth anſwerable thereunto: openly praiſe-worthy, but his ſecret actions were hardly ſpoken of: he was of conſent to all his brothers vices, and of counſaile to many, yet ſomewhat the more cloſe and vigilant man: and not ſo much partaker of his proſperity, as violently carried with the current of his miſery.

The Earle of Glouceſter fled towardes Wales, but was forelayed and taken, and beheaded at Briſtow: *Magdalene* the couunterfeite of King *Richard*; flying into Scotland, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered, with *W. Ferby* another of King *Richards* Chapleines. Diuerſe other Lordes and Knights and Gentlemen, and a great number of meane and baſe perſons, were in other places put to death; inſomuch as the King though otherwiſe of a very temperate and intreatable nature, ſeemed to ſhew too hard and haughty dealing in reuenging his owne iniury, or rather maintaining the iniury that he had done: the heads of the chiefe conſpirators, were pitched vpon poles, and ſet ouer London Bridge: in all other partes of the realme a ſpectacle both lamentable and vgly was preſented to the view and terrour of others: bodies hewen in peeces, heads and quarters of vnfortunate diſmẽbred wretches putrifiing aboue ground: not al for deſert, but many to ſatiſfy either the malice, or want of King *Henries* friends; inſomuch as many graue men openly gaue forth, that in ſhort time there would becauſe to wiſh King *Richard* again, as being more tollerable to endure the cruelty of one, then of many, and to liue where nothing, then where any thing

thing might be permitted.

The Abbot of Weſtminſter in whoſe houſe and in whoſe head this confederacy began, hearing of theſe aduentures, as he was going betweene his monaſtery and his manſion, fell ſodainly into a palſie, and ſhortly after without ſpeech ended his life; and although in this enterprize fortune gaue policy the check, and by a ſtrange accedent which wiſdome could not foreſee, ouerturned the deuiſe, yet is it certainely affirmed that this Abbot firſt ſtirred the ſtone, which rowling a long, was like to haue turned king *Henrie* out of his ſeate. The biſhop of Caerliel, was condemned vpon this treſon, but the extreamity of his feare, and griefe, cloſed vp his daies, and preuented the violence and ſhame of publicke execution. And now king *Richard* after he had abdicated his dignity, did but ſhort time enioy that ſweet ſecurity, which he did vainly expect, and firſt all his goods which hee did giue in ſatiſfaction of the iniuries that hee had done, were brought to diuiſion and ſhare amongſt his enemies: ſhortly after he was remooued from the Tower, to the Caſtle of Leedes in Kent, and from thence to Pomfret, to the ende that by often changing hee might eyther more ſecretly bee diſpatched, or more vncertainly found: heere being kept in ſtreight priſon, both innocent & ignorant of this offence, he was notwithſtãding made a party in the puniſhment. For King *Henry* perceiuing that the Lords ſo far preuailed with their late ſtratageme, that if their ſtomacke had bin anſwerable to their ſtrength, & their bold beginning had not ended in faintnes and ſloath, they might haue driuen him to a hard hazard; cauſed King *Richard* to be put to death: intending to make ſure, that no man ſhould cloake open rebellion, vnder the colour of following ſides, nor countenance his cõſpiracy, either with the perſon or name of K. *Richard*: whether hee did expreſſely commaund his death, or no, it is a queſtion; out of queſtion he ſhewed ſome liking and deſire

to the action, and gaue allowance thereto when it was doone.

The moſt current report at that time went, that hee was princely ſerued euery day at the Table, with aboundance of coſtlie meates, according to the order preſcribed by Parlament, but was not ſuffered to taſt or touche any one of them; and ſo periſhed of famine; being tormented with the preſence of that, whereof he dyed for want, but ſuch horrible and vnnaturall crueltie, both againſt a King and a kinſeman, ſhould not proceed from King *Henrie* (me thinke) a man of a moderate and milde diſpoſition, nor yet from any other minde which is not altogether both ſauage in humanitie, and in religion prophane. One wrighter who would ſeeme to haue the perfect intelligence of theſe affayres, maketh report, that King *Henrie* ſitting at his table, ſad and penſiue, with a deepe ſigh brake foorth into theſe wordes: Haue I no faithfull friend that wil deliuer me of him, whoſe life wil breed deſtiuction to me and diſturbance to the realme, and whoſe death will bee a ſafetie and quiet to both? for how can I bee free from feare, ſo long as the cauſe of my daunger doth continue? and what ſecuritie, what hope ſhall we haue of peace, vnleſſe the ſeed of ſedition be vtterly rooted out.

Vppon this ſpeech a certaine Knight called Sir *Pierce* of Extone, preſently departed from the Court, accompanyed with eight tall men, and came to Pomfrete, and there commaunded, that the Eſquire who was accuſtomed to ſewe, and take the aſſay before King *Richard*, ſhould no more vſe that maner of ſeruice: and let him (quoth he) now eate wel, for he ſhall not eate long. King *Richard* ſate downe to dinner, and was ſerued without courteſie or aſſaye, whereat he merueyled, and demaunded of the Eſquire, why he did not his dutie? the Eſquire anſwered, that he was otherwiſe commaunded by Sir *Pierce* of Extone, who was latelye come

from

from King *Henrie*. The King being ſomewhat mooued at this acte and anſwere, tooke the caruing knife in his hand, and ſtrucke the Eſquire therewith lightly on the head, ſaying, the deuill take *Henrie* of Lancaſter and thee together: with that Sir *Pierce* entred the chamber, with eight men in harneys, euery one hauing a byll in his hand: Wherevpon King *Richard* perceiuing their drift and his owne daunger, put the table from him, and ſtepping ſtoutlye to the formoſt man, wreſted the bill out of his hand, wherewith (although vnarmed and alone) he manfully defended himſelfe a good ſpace, and ſlew fowre of his aſſaylants. Sir *Pierce* lept to the chaire where king *Richard* was wonte to ſit, whileſt the reſt chaſed him about the chamber. At the laſt being forced towards the place where Sir *Pierce* was, he with a ſtroake of his Pollax felled him to the ground: and foorthwith he was miſerably rid out of his miſerable life. It is ſaide that at the pointe of his death, hee gathered ſome ſpirit, and with a fainte and feeble voyce, groaned foorth theſe wordes.

My great grandfather King *Edward* the ſecond, was in this manner depoſed, impriſoned, and murthered; by which meanes my grandfather king *Edward* the third obteyned poſſeſſion of the crowne; and now is the puniſhment of that iniurie powred vpon his next ſucceſſour. Well, this is right for mee to ſuffer, but not for you to doe: your King for a time may ioye at my death, and enioye his deſire; but let him qualifie his pleaſures with expectation of the like iuſtice: for God who meaſureth all our actions by the malice of our mindes, will not ſuffer this violence vnreuenged.

Whether theſe words proceeded from a diſtempered deſire, or from the iudgement of his foreſight, they were not altogether idle and vaine. For Sir *Pierce* expecting great fauour and rewards for his vngracious ſeruice, was fruſtrated

of both, and not only miſſed that countenance for which he hoped, but loſt that which before he had: ſo odious are vices euen where they are profitable.

Heerevpon hee grew at the firſt diſcontented, and afterwardes mightely turmoyled and tormented in conſcience, and raging againſt himſelfe would often exclaime, that to pleaſure one vnthankefull perſon, he had made both himſelfe and his poſteritie, hatefull and infamous to all the world.

King *Henrie* with great diſcontentment and diſquiet held the kingdome during his life: and ſo did his ſonne King *Henrie* the fifth: in whoſe time by continuall warres againſt the Frenchmen, the malice of the humour was otherwiſe exerciſed and ſpent. But his ſecond ſucceſſour King *Henry* the ſixth was diſpoſſed thereof, and together with his young ſonne *Henry* impriſoned and put to death, eyther by the commaundement or conniuence of King *Edward* the fourth.

And hee alſo eſcaped not free; for hee dyed not without many and manifeſt ſuſpicions of poiſon: and after his death his two ſonnes were diſinherited, impriſoned, and butchered by their cruell Vncle the Duke of Glouceſter, who being a tyrant and vſurper, was lawfully ſlaine in the field; and ſo in his perſon (hauing no iſſue) the tragedie did end. Which are moſt rare and excellent examples, both of comfort to them that are oppreſſed, and of terrour to violent dealers; that God in his ſecret iudgement dooth not alwayes ſo certainely prouide for our ſafetie, as reuenge our iniuries and harmes: and that all our vniuſt actions haue a daye of payment, and many times by waye of retaliation, euen in the ſame manner and meaſure wherein they were committed.

And thus was King *Richard* brought to his death, by violence and force as all wrighters agree, although all agree

agree not vppon the manner of the violence. Hee was a man of perſonage rather well proportioned then tall, of great beautie, and grace, and comlineſſe in preſence; hee was of a good ſtrength, and no abiect ſpirit; but the one by eaſe, the other by flatterie were much abaſed. Hee deſerued many friends, but found fewe, becauſe hee ſought them more by liberalitye, then vertuous dealing. Hee was merueilons infortunate in all his actions, which may verye well bee imputed to his negligence and ſloath; for hee that is not prouident can ſeldome proſper, but by his looſeneſſe will looſe, whatſoeuer fortune, or other mens laboures doe caſt vppon him. At the laſt hee was driuen to ſuch diſtreſſe, that hee accompted it as a benefite, to bee disburdened of his royall dignitie, for which other men will not ſticke, to put theyr goods, and liues, and ſoules in hazarde.

Hee liued three and thirtie yeares, and raigned two and twentie. His dead body was embaulmed, and ſeared, and couered with Lead all ſaue his face, and carryed to London; and in all the chiefe places by the waye, his face was vncouered and ſhewen, that by viewe thereof no doubt ſhould bee made concerning his death. At London hee had a ſolemne obſequie kept in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paule*, the King beeing preſent, and all the chiefe men of the Cittie.

Then hee was conueyed to Langley Abbey in Buckinghamſhire, about twentie miles from London, and there obſcurely enterred by the Biſhop of Cheſter, the Abbot of S. Albones, and the Abbot of Waltham, without preſence of noble men, without confluence of the common people, and without the charge of a dinner for celebrating the funerals: but afterward at the Commaundement of King *Henry* the fifth, his body was taken vp, and remooued to Weſtminſter, and honourablye entombed amongſt his aunceſters, with

with Queene Anne his wife, in expiation (as it is like) of his Fathers violent and vnfaithfull dealing. So hee whose life was alwayes tumultuous and vnquiet, could not readily find reſt for his bones, euen after death. It was not amiſſe in regard of the common wealth that he was dead; yet they who cauſed his death had ſmall reaſon to reckon it among theyr good deedes.

And thus doe theſe and the like accidents dayly happen to ſuch Princes as will be abſolute in power, reſolute in wil, and diſſolute in life.

This yeere *Humfrey* the ſonne and heyre of the Duke of Glouceſter, dyed of the plague, as he returned out of Ireland where King *Richard* had left him priſoner; and ſhortly after the Dutcheſſe his mother with violence of griefe ended her dayes: this yeere alſo dyed *Thomas Moubray* the exiled duke of Norfolke, whoſe death would much haue been lamented, if he had not furthered ſo many lamentable deaths: but he ouerliu'd his honour, & ſaw himſelfe accounted a perſon infamed and of no eſtimation. Likewiſe about this time, *Iohn* Duke of Brittaine deceaſed, who had taken to wife *Mary* daughter to King *Edward* the third, and by her had no iſſue but by *Ioan* his ſecond wife he left behinde him three ſons, *Iohn*, *Richard* & *Arthur*: this *Ioan* was afterwards maried to K. *Henrie*, as hereafter ſhall appeare. Alſo this yeere *Edmund* Duke of Yorke departed this life, his honour not ſtayned, his fame not touched: he was a man very circumſpect and wary in his cariage, not careleſſe of a good fame, nor greedy after a great: of other mens wealth not deſirous, leberall of his owne, and of the common ſparing: he did not by obſtinate oppoſing himſelfe againſt the current of the time, raſhly haſten; eyther his fame or his fall, but by moderation attained ſafely that degree of praiſe, and honour, which others aſpiring vnto by deſperate courſes, wanne with ambitious death, without any other profit at all. He left behinde him

two

two noble ſonnes, expreſſe reſemblencers of his integritie: *Edward*, who ſucceeded in his dignitie, and before was called Duke of Aumerle, and *Richard* Earle of Cambridge. *Edward*, in the change of the ſtate, neither conſtantlye kept his fidelitie, nor ſtoutlie maintained his treaſon, *Richard* tooke to wife the daughter and heyre of *Roger Mortimer*, whoſe mother *Phillip* was ſole daughter and heyre to *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, the third ſonne of King *Edward* the thyrd, by which title and diſcent, his poſteritie claimed the Crowne and Kingdome of this realme from the ſucceſſours of King *Henrie*, as heereafter more at large ſhall be declared.

Charles King of Fraunce loſt no time al this while in making preparation to inuade England: and to that end had now rayſed an armie royall, which was brought downe into Picardie, and in a readineſſe to haue beene tranſported. But it is very like that this haſte for the deliuerance of King *Richard* did the more haſten his death: vppon newes whereof the Frenchmen perceiuing their purpoſe for his reſtitution to be to no purpoſe, gaue ouer the enterpriſe; ſome being grieued that the occaſion was loſt of making ſpoile of ſo plentiful a countrie, others being well content to be diſcharged of that hope together with the hazard whervpon it depended. Shortlie after the French King ſent a ſolemne Embaſſage into Eugland, to treate, or rather intreate, that Lady *Iſabell* his daughter, who had bin eſpouſed to King *Richard*, might with her dowrie bee reſtored to him againe. King *Henrie* moſt honourablie receiued theſe Embaſſadours, and gaue in anſwere, that he would ſpeedelie ſend his Commiſſioners to Calice, which ſhould fullye commune and couclude with them, both of this and other weightie affayres concerning both the realmes.

Not long after he ſent *Edward* Duke of Yorke, and *Henrie* Earle of Northumberland to Calice: Alſo the French

King ſent the Duke of Burbone and certaine others to Bulleine. Theſe Commiſſioners did often meete, ſometimes at one place, and ſometimes at another: the Frenchmen eſpecially required, that Lady *Iſabell* ſhould be reſtored, ſhewing that King *Charles* her Father had giuen in charge, that this before all matters, and without this nothing ſhould be concluded. On the other ſide the Engliſhmen deſired that ſhe might be married to *Henrie* Prince of Wales King *Henries* eldeſt Sonne, a man anſwerable to her in equall degree both of bloud and of yeeres: but the French King denyed that he would any more ioyne affinity with the Engliſh nation, whoſe aliance had onceſo vnfortunately ſucceeded: thē they entred into ſpeech of a perpetuall peace, but heereto the Frenchmen would not agree. In the end it was concluded that Lady *Iſabell* ſhould be deliuered to King *Charles* her Father but without Dower; becauſe the marriage betweene King *Richard* and her, was neuer conſummate: by reaſon wherof ſhe was not douable by the very treaty of the marriage. Alſo the ſurceaſe of armes which foure yeeres before had beene made with King *Richard* for the terme of 30 yeeres, was continued and confirmed for the time then vnexpyred. Some authors affirme that a newe truce was taken, but theſe alſo are at difference: for ſome report that it was during the life of both the Kinges, others that it was but for a ſhort time, which hath the more apparaunce of truth, by reaſon of the open hoſtilitye which the yeere following did breake foorth betweene the two realmes.

Shortly after King *Henrie* ſent the Lady *Iſabell* vnder the conducte of Lorde *Thomas Pearcy* Earle of Worceſter, in royall eſtate to Calice: ſhe was accompanied with a great troupe of honourable perſonages, both men and women; and carried with her all the Iewelles and plate which ſhee brought into England, with a great ſurple-ſage of rich gifts

beſtowed

beſtowed vpon her by the king: at Calice ſhe was receiued by the Earle of S. Paule, Liuetenant for the French King in Picardy, and by him was conducted to king *Charles* her Father, who afterwardes gaue her in marriage to *Charles*, ſonne to *Lewes* Duke of Orleance: and ſo was eyther reſt or reſpite of wars procured in Fraunce, whileſt neerer ſtirres might be brought to ſome ſtay.

For within the realme, the fire and fury of the late ſedition was ſcarcely quenched and quiet, but (that the common wealth ſhould not ceaſe to be torne, by multiplying of diuiſions, one ſtreight ſucceeding another) the Welſhmen, vpon aduantage of the doubtfull and vnſetled eſtate of king *Henrie*, reſolued to breake and make a defection; before eyther the King could ground his authority, or the people frame themſelues to a new obedience: and hauing learned that common cauſes muſt be maintained by concord, they ſought by aſſemblyes to eſtabliſh an aſſociation: and to ſet vp their owne principality againe.

To this purpoſe they created for theyr Prince, *Owen Glendor* an Eſquire of Wales, a factious perſon, and apt to ſet vp diuiſion and ſtrife: and although hee was of no great ſtate in birth; yet was hee great and ſtately in ſtomacke: of an aſpiring ſpirit, and in wit ſomewhat aboue the ordinarie of that vntrained people: boulde, craftie, actiue, and as hee liſted to bend his minde, miſchieuous or induſtrious in equall degree, in deſires immoderate, and raſhlye aduenturous, in his young yeeres hee was brought vp to the ſtudye of the Common Lawe of the Realme, at London: and when hee came to mans eſtate, beſides a naturall fierceneſſe and hatred to the Engliſh name, hee was particularlye incenſed by a priuate ſuite; for certayne landes in controuerſie, betweene the Lord Gray of Ruthen and him; wherein his tytle was ouerthrowen; and being a man by nature not of the myldeſt,

by this prouocation he was made ſauadge and rough; determining eyther to repayre or to reuenge his loſſe, by ſetting the whole ſtate on fire. Alſo his expence and liberalitie had bin too exceſſiue for a great man to endure, which brought him to bareneſſe too baſe for a meane man to beare: and therefore he muſt of neceſſitie doe and dare ſomewhat, and more daunger there was in ſoft and quiet dealing, then in hazarding raſhlie. Heerewith opportunitie was then likewiſe preſented: for troubleſome times are moſt fit for great attempts, and ſome likelyhood there was, whileſt the King and the Lordes were hard at variance, that harme might eaſelie be wrought to them both. Vpon theſe cauſes his deſire was founded, and vppon theſe troubles his hope. But that his aſpiring and ambitious humour might beare ſome ſhew of honeſt meaning, he pretended to his countrymen the recouerie of theyr free eſtate, the deſire whereof was ſo naturally ſweete, that euen wilde Birdes will rather liue hardlye at large in the ayre, then bee daintily dyeted by others in a Cage; and opportunitie was at that time fitlie offered, or elſe neuer to be expected, to rid them of theyr thraldome. falſelie and colourablie intituled a peace; whileſt the one Kings power was waining, and the other not yet fullye wexen, and either of them grew weake by waſting the other: neither was their any difference which of them ſhould preuayle, ſith the warre touched both a like, inſomuch as the ouerthrow would ruine the one, and the victorie the other: So hee exhorted them to take courage and armes: and firſt to kill all the Engliſh within their territories, for libertie and Lordes could not endure together: then to reſume their auncient cuſtomes and lawes, whereby more then armes, common-wealths are eſtabliſhed and enlarged: ſo ſhould they bee a people vncorrupt, without admixtion of forreine manners of bloud; and ſo ſhould they forget ſeruitude, and eyther liue at libertie, or elſe perhaps, bee Lordes

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ouer other.

Heerevpon many flocked vnto him, the beſt for loue of libertie, the baſeſt for deſire of bootie and ſpoile, inſomuch as in ſhort time hee became commaunder of competent forces to ſtand openly in the fielde. And being deſirous to make ſome proofe of his proweſſe, hee ſharply ſet vppon his ould aduerſarie *Reignold* Lorde Grey of Ruthen, whoſe poſſeſſions he waſted and ſpoyled: ſlew many of his men, and tooke himſelfe priſoner; yet gaue him faire and friendlie enterteinment, and promiſed him releaſment, if he would take his daughter to wife. This hee deſired, not ſo much for neede of his abilitie or ayde, as ſuppoſing that the name and countenance of a Lorde, would giue reputation to the houſe that was then but in riſing: But the Lorde Greye at the firſt did not ſo much refuſe as ſcorne the offer: affirming that he was no warde, to haue his marriage obtruded vppon him. Well (ſayde *Owen Glendore*) although you bee not my warde, yet are you in my warde: and the ſuing of your liuerie will coſt double the marriage money that elſewhere you ſhall procure. They Lord Grey being not very riche to diſcharge his ranſome, and ſeeing no other meanes of his deliuerance, at the laſt accepted the condition, and tooke the damoſell to wife; notwithſtanding his deceitfull Father in lawe triſled out the time of his enlargement vntill hee dyed.

The Welſhmen being confident vppon this ſucceſſe, began to breake into the borders of Hereford-ſhire, and to make ſpoyle and pray of the Countrey: againſt whom Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of Marche, who for feare of King *Henrie* had withdrawne himſelfe (as hath beene declared) to Wiggmore Caſtle, aſſembled all the Gentlemen of the Countrye, and meeting with the Welſhmen, the ioyned togither a ſharpe and cruell conflict: not in forme of a looſe skirmiſh, but ſtanding ſtill and maintaining their place, they

endeuoured with maine might to breake and beare downe one another. The courage and reſolution of both ſides was a like, but the Welſhmen were ſuperiour both for number and direction: for they were conducted by one knowne leader, who with his preſence euery where aſſiſted at neede, enflaming his Soldiours, ſome with ſhame and reproofe, others with praiſe and encouragement, all with hope and large promiſes: but the Engliſhmen had no certaine generall, but many confuſed commaunders, yea euery man was a commaunder to himſelfe, preſſing forward or drawing backe, as his owne courage or feare did mooue him. Inſomuch as no doubt they had taken a great blow that day by theyr ill gouerned bouldneſſe, had not *Owen Glendor* preſently vppon the breaking vp of the field, ceaſed to purſue the execution, and ſhewed himſelfe more able to get a victorie, then skilful to vſe it. But euen to his ſide the victorie had coſt bloud, and many of thoſe which remayned, were eyther wounded or wearie: the night was neere alſo, and they were in their enemies countrie; by which meanes our men had libertie to retire rather then runne a way, no man being hoat to follow the chaſe. They loſt of their company about a thouſand men, who ſould their liues at ſuch a price, that when manhood had doone the hardeſt againſt them, certaine manniſh, or rather deuiliſh women, whoſe malice is immortall, exerciſed a vaine reuenge vppon their dead bodyes; in cutting off their priuie partes and theyr noſes, whereof the one they ſtuffed in their mouthes, and preſſed the other betweene their buttocks; and would not ſuffer their mangled carcaſſes to be committed to the earth, vntill they were redeemed with a great ſumme of money. By which cruell couetouſneſſe, the faction loſt reputation and credite with the moderate ſorte of their owne people; ſuſpecting that it was not libertie but licentiouſneſſe which was deſired: and that ſubiection to ſuch vnhumaine

mindes

mindes would bee more insupportable then anye bondage.

In this conflict the Earle of Marche was taken prisoner and fettered with chaines, and cast into a deepe and vile dungeon. The King was solicited by many noble men, to vse some meanes for his deliuerance; but hee would not heare on that eare; hee could rather haue wished him and his two sisters in heauen, for then the onely blemish to his title had beene out of the way: and no man can tell whether this mischaunce did not preserue him from a greater mischiefe.

Owen Glendor by the prosperous successe of his actions, was growne now more harde to be dealt with, and hautelie minded, and stood euen vppon termes of equalitie with the King: wherevpon he proceeded further to inuade the Marches of Wales on the West side of Seuerne; where hee burnt many villages and townes, slew much people, and returned with great prey and praises of his adherents. Thus he ceased not this yeere to infest the borderers on euery side, amongst whom he found so weake resistance, that he seemed to exercise rather a spoile then a warre. For King *Henrie* was then detained with his chiefest forces, in another more dangerous seruice, which besides these former vexations and hazards, this first yeere of his reigne happened vnto him.

For the Scottes knowing that changes were times most apte for attempt, and vppon aduantage of the absence of all the chiefe Englishborderes, partly by occasion of the Parlament, and partlie by reason of the plague which was very grieuous that yeere in the North partes of the realme: they made a roade into the countrey of Northumberland, and there committed great hauocke and harme. Also on a certaine night they sodainly set vppon the Castle of Werke, the captain wherof sir *Thomas Gray*, was then one of the knights of the Parlament: & hauing slaine the watch partly a sleepe, partly

partlye amazed with feare, they brake in and ſurpriſed the place: which they held a while, and at the laſt ſpoyled and ruined and then departed. Whileſt further harmes were feared this paſſed with light regarde. But when great perils were paſt, as if noe woorſe miſfortune could haue befallen, then was it much ſorrowed and lamented. And in reuenge thereof, the Engliſhmen inuaded and ſpoyled certaine Ilands of Orkney: and ſo the loſſe was in ſome ſorte repayred: yet (as in repriſals of warre it commonlye falleth out) neyther againſt thoſe particular perſons which committed the harme, nor for thoſe which ſuffred it: but one for another were both recompenced and reuenged. Againe the Scottes ſet foorth a fleete, vnder the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon*, with direction to attempt as occaſion ſhould be offered: his firſt purpoſe was againſt our Fiſhermen; but before hee came to any action, he was encountred by certaine Engliſh ſhips, and the greateſt part of his fleete taken. Thus peace ſtill continuing betweene both the realmes, a kinde of theeuiſh hoſtilitie was dayly practiſed, which afterwardes brake out into open warre vppon this occaſion.

George of Dunbarre Earle of the Marches of Scotland, had betrothed *Elizabeth* his daughter to *Danid*, the ſonne and heyre apparant of *Robert* King of Scottes, and in regard of that marriage to bee ſhortlie celebrated and finiſhed, hee deliuered into the Kings hands a great ſumme of money for his Daughters dowrie. But *Archibalde* Earle Dowglaſſe diſdaining that the Earle of Marches bloud ſhould be preferred before his, ſo wrought with King *Robert*, that Prince *Danid* his ſonne refuſed the Earle of Marches Daughter, and tooke to wife *Mariell* Daughter to the Earle Dowglaſſe: Earle *George* not vſed to offers of diſgrace, could hardlye enforce his pacience to endure this ſcorne: and firſt hee demaunded reſtitution of his money,

not

not ſo much for care to obteine, as for deſire to picke an occaſion of breaking his alleageance. The King would make to him neyther payment nor promiſe, but trifled him off with many deluſorie and vaine delayes: Wherevppon hee fled with all his familie into England, to *Henrie* Earle of Northumberland, intending with open diſloyaltie both to reuenge his indignitie, and recouer his loſſe. The Engliſhmen with open armes enterteyned the opportunitie: with whoſe helpe and aſſiſtance the Earle made diuers incurſions into Scotland, where he burnt many Townes, and ſlue much people, and daylye purchaſed with his ſworde, great aboundance of bootie and ſpoile.

Heerevppon King *Robert* depriued the Earle of his honour, ſeazed all his goods and poſſeſſions, and wrote vnto King *Henrie*, as hee would haue the truce betweene them any longer to continue; eyther to deliuer vnto him the Earle of Marche and other traytours to his perſon and ſtate, or elſe to baniſh them the realme of England. King *Henrie* perceiuing ſuch iarres to iogger betweene the two realmes, that the peace was already as it were out of ioynte, determined not to looſe the benefit of the diſcontented ſubiects of his enemie: wherevppon hee returned aunſwer to the Heralde of Scotland, that hee was neyther wearie of peace nor fearefull of warrs, and ready as occaſion ſhould change, eyther to holde the one, or hazard the other: but the worde of a Prince was of great weight; and therefore ſithe hee had graunted a ſafe conducte to the Earle of Marche and his companie, it were an impeachment to his honour, without iuſt cauſe to violate the ſame. Vppon this anſwere the King of Scottes did preſently proclaime open warre againſt the King of England, with bloud, fire, and ſworde.

King *Henry* thought it pollicie, rather to begin the warre in his enemies countrie, then to expect it in his owne, becauſe the land which is the ſeate of the warre, dooth commonly

monly furniſh both ſides with neceſſary ſupply; the friend by contribution, and the enemie by ſpoyle. Therefore ſending certaine troopes of horſemen before him, both to eſpie and to induce an vncertaine terrour vppon the enemie, hee entred into Scotland with a puiſſant armie; wherewith hee burnt many Villages and Townes, caſt downe diuerſe Caſtles, and ruined a great part of the townes of Edenborough and Lith, ſparing nothing but Churches and religious houſes: ſo that in all places as he paſſed, the ſpectacle was ougly and griſlie which hee left behind him; bodyes torne in peeces, mangled and putrified limmes, the ayre infected with ſtincke, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the countrie waſted, the Graſſe and Corne troden downe and ſpoyled; inſomuch as a man would haue ſayde that warre is an exerciſe not of manhood, but of inhumanitie. They that fledde before the armie, filled all places with feare and terrour, extolling aboue truthe the Engliſh forces, to deminiſh thereby their ſhame in running from ſhame.

In the end of September the King beſieged the Caſtle of Maydens in Edenborough; wherein were *Dauid* Duke of Rothſaye Prince of the realme, and *Archibalde* Earle Dowglaſſe; the inconſtancie of the one, and ambition of the other, were principall cauſes of all this warre.

During this ſiege, *Robert* Duke of Albonye, who was appointed gouernour of the Realme, becauſe the King was ſicke and vnable to rule, ſent an Herauld vnto *Henrie*; aſſuring him vppon his honour, that if hee would abyde but fixe dayes at the moſt, hee would giue him battaile; and eyther remooue the ſiege, or looſe his life.

The King was well pleaſed with theſe tidings, and rewarded the Herauld with a gowne of ſilke and a chaine of gould, and promiſed him in the worde of a Prince, to abide there

there and expect the gouernour, during the tyme by him prefixed.

The fixe dayes paſſed, almoſt fixe tymes ouer and no more newes was heard of the Gouernour, eyther by preſence or by meſſenger. Winter came on, and victuaile fayled, the Country was cold and fruiteleſſe, and it rayned euery day in great abundance: ſo that partly by hunger, partlye by diſtemperature of the weather, the Souldiers began to dye of the Flixe; it is verie like that theſe accidentes ſtayed the Gouernour from performing his promiſe, for pollicy was againſt it, to hazard his men in the fielde, when winter and want, two forceable foes, had giuen the charge vppon his enemies: certaine it is, that they mooued the King to remooue his ſiege, and to depart out of Scotland, without any battaile or skirmiſh offred.

Both the Wardens of the Marches were all this time in Scotland with the King: vpon which aduantage the Scots did breake into Northumberland, and burnt certaine townes in Bamborough ſhire. The Engliſh men were ſpeedilie vp in armes; but the Scottes more ſpeedily made theyr returne, or elſe no doubt they had been met with and encountered.

Agayne when King *Henry* had diſcharged his armie, the Scottes being deſireus not ſo much of lyfe as of reuenge, made a ſodayne roade into England, vnder the conduct of Sir *Thomas Halibarton* of Dirleton, and Sir *Patricke Hebburne* of Hales: but all the harme which they wrought dyd rather waken then weaken the Engliſhmen: and they themſelues were ſomewhat encouraged, but nothing enryched, by that which they got.

Not long after, Sir *Patricke Hebburne*, beeing lifted vp in deſire and hope, reſolued to vndertake a greater

enterprise: the people, which are eafilye ledde by proſperous ſucceſſe, in great companies reſorted to him; but hee was loath to haue more fellowes in the ſpoyle, then hee thought ſhould neede in the daunger: therfore with a competent armie of the men of Loughdeane, he inuaded Northumberland, where hee made great ſpoile, and loaded his Souldiours with priſoners and pray. There was no queſtion made what perrill might bee in the returne: Therefore they marched looſelie and licentiouſlie, as in a place of great ſecuritie, not keeping themſelues to their enſignes and orders: but the Earle of Northumberlands Vice-warden, and other Gentlemen of the borders in good arraie, ſet vppon them at a towne in Northumberland called Neſbitt. The Scottes rallied as well as the ſodainenes did ſerue, and valiantlie receiued the charge; ſo that the battaile was ſharpe and cruel, and continued a good time, with great mortalitie. In the ende the enemies rankes grew thinne, as being rather confuſedly ſhuffled together, then orderlie & firmelie compacted: and when the Vice-warden felte them weake in the ſhock, and yeelding vnder his hand, with a companie which he purpoſelie reteyned about him for ſodain diſpatches and chaunces of warr, he fiercely charged and diſordered them, Sir *Patricke Hebburne* being cleane deſtitute both of counſaile and courage, ranne vp and downe from one place to another, commaunding many things, and preſently forbidding them againe; and the leſſe of force his directions were, the oftener did hee change them: anone (as it happeneth in loſt and deſperate caſes) euerye man became a commaunder, and none a putter in execution: ſo the rankes looſed and brake, and could not bee reunited, the victor hoatly purſuing the aduantage. Then might you haue ſeene a grieuous ſpectacle, purſuing, kiling, wounding and taking and killing thoſe that were taken, when better were offred: euery where weapons, and dead bodyes, and mangled limbs,

laye

laye ſcattered: and ſometimes in thoſe that were ſlaine, appeared at their death both anger and valure. Sir *Patricke Hebburne* thought of nothing leſſe then eyther fleeing or yeelding, but thruſting among the thickeſt of his enemyes, honourably ended his life. Many other of his linage, and the flower of all Loughdeane were likewiſe ſlaine. There were alſo taken Sir *Iohn* and *William Cockburne*, Sir *William Baſſe*, *Iohn* and *Thomas Hublinſton* Eſquires, and a great multitude of common Soldiours. On the Engliſh ſide no great number was ſlaine; and thoſe of no great ſeruice and degree. And with theſe troubles the firſt yeere of King *Henrie* the fourth ended.

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